Muscogee (Creek)Nation
2007

Elementary
STUDY GUIDE

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STORY OF MVSKOKE FAMILIES

Among Mvskoke people, families have always been very important. Long ago, families had to work very hard just to survive. There were many important jobs to be done, and each family member was responsible for a few daily tasks.

Within traditional Mvskoke society, each person is a member of an extended family. An extended family is one in which more than just parents and children live together. The typical Mvskoke household consists of parents, children, grandparents, and grandchildren.

Each family member had specific roles and responsibilities within their family. This way, the whole family worked together to accomplish goals, and each shared in the successes of their labor. Within early societies, women were primarily responsible for gathering and preparing food, taking care of the housework, and caring for the children and elders. Men primarily hunted, enforced rules, and led public meetings and ceremonies. Elders played very important roles as teachers, advisors, and keepers of Mvskoke traditions.

Boys and girls also had very special responsibilities. They were taught from a very early age to observe nature and to learn from what they saw. It was believed that plants, animals, and all the forces of nature had special lessons to teach, if only people would be still and listen.

Until the age of five, boys and girls shared in all the responsibilities of daily life. They helped gather food, cook, and clean. Older girls were taught to collect nuts and berries, to plant and harvest vegetables, and to prepare the many types of food they gathered. Girls also learned all of the artistic skills necessary for making clothing, pottery, basketry, and household utensils. Older boys were taught the skills and methods required for successful hunting and fishing. They also began to learn about the Mvskoke religion, and began to join in some public ceremonies.

After completing their daily tasks, all family members had time for recreational activities. Evenings may have been spent listening to stories, or joining in some type of dancing. Often, stories were told about Mvskoke history and traditions. Many tales about animals were also told to discipline children or explain the different forms of life.

Mvskoke people of today still generally live within extended families, although the roles of some family members have changed. Men and women no longer hunt and gather berries, but parents still share in the traditional responsibilities of getting and preparing food. Mvskoke children now go to public schools, but still depend on family members to teach them about traditional values and beliefs.

Muscogee Creek Nation

A Short History of the Muskoke People

MUSCOGEE (CREEK) NATION

The Muscogee (Creek) people are descendants of a highly evolved culture that, before 1500 AD, spanned all of the region known today as the Southeastern United States. Early ancestors of the Muscogee constructed magnificent earthen pyramids along the rivers of that region as part of their elaborate ceremonial complexes. The historic Muscogee later built expansive towns within these same broad river valleys in the present states of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee and South Carolina.

The Muscogee were not one tribe but a union of several. This union evolved into a confederacy that, in the Euro-American described "historic period", was the most sophisticated political organization north of Mexico. Member tribes were called tribal towns. Within this political structure, each tribal town maintained political autonomy and distinct land holdings.

The confederacy was dynamic in its capacity to expand. New Tribal towns were born of "Mother Towns" as populations increased. The confederation was also expanded by the addition of tribes conquered by towns of the confederacy, and, in time, by the incorporation of tribes and fragments of tribes devastated by the European imperial powers. Within this confederacy, the language and the culture of the founding tribal towns became dominant.

Throughout the period of contact with Europeans, most of the Muscogee population was concentrated into two geographical areas. The English called the Muscogee peoples occupying the towns on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, Upper Creeks, and those to the southeast, on the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, the Lower Creeks. The distinction was purely geographical. Due in part by intermarriage and its consequent impact on their political and social order. The Upper towns remained less effected by European influences and continued to maintain distinctly traditional political and social institutions.

In the early 19th century, the United States Indian policy focused on the removal of the Muscogee and the other Southeastern tribes to areas beyond the Mississippi. In the removal treaty of 1832, Muscogee leadership exchanged to last of the cherished Muscogee ancestral homelands for new lands in Indian Territory. Many of the Lower Muscogee (Creek) had settled in the new homeland after the treaty of Washington in 1827. But for the majority of Muscogee people, the process of severing ties to a land they felt so much an impossible. The U. S. Army enforced the removal of over 20,000 Muscogee (Creek) to Indian Territory in 1836-1837.

In the new nation the Lower Muscogee located their farms and plantations on the Arkansas and Verdigris Rivers. The Upper Muscogee re-established their ancient towns on the Canadian River and its northern branches. The tribal towns of both groups continued to send representatives to a National Council which met near High Springs. The Muscogee Nation as a whole began to experience a new prosperity.

The American Civil War was disastrous for the Muscogee people. The first three battles of the war in "Indian Territory occurred when confederate forces attacked a large group of neutral Muscogee (Creek) led by Opothle Yahola. For the majority of the Muscogee citizens fought on both the Union and Confederate sides. The reconstruction treaty of 1866 required the cession of 3.2 million acres approximately half of the Muscogee domain.

In 1867 the Muscogee people adopted a written constitution that provided for a Principal Chief and a Second Chief, a judicial branch, and a bicameral legislature composed of a House of Kings and a House of Warriors. Representation in both houses of this Legislative assembly was determined by tribal town. This "Constitutional" period lasted for the remainder of the 19th century. A new capital was established in 1867 on the Deep Fork of the Canadian at Okmulgee.

In the late 1880's the Dawes Commission began negotiating with the Muscogee Nation for the allotment of the national domain. In 1898 the United States Congress passed the Curtis Act which made the dismantling of the National governments of the Five Civilized Tribes and the allotment of collectively held tribal domains inevitable. In 1900, the noted statesman Chitto Harjo helped lead organized opposition to the dissolution of the Muscogee National government and allotment of collectively held lands. It his efforts he epitomized the view of all Muscogee people that they possessed an inherent right to govern themselves. For individuals like Chitto Harjo it was unimaginable that the Nation could be dissolved by the action of a foreign government. This perception proved to be correct.

The end of the Muscogee Nation as envisioned by its architects within the United States Congress did not occur. In the early 20th century the process of allotment of the National domain to individual citizens was completed. However, the perceived dismantling of the Muscogee government was never fully executed. The Nation maintained a Principal Chief throughout this stormy period, until a revitalization of the National government in the 1970's.

In 1971 the Muscogee people, for the first time since the partial dismantling of their National government, freely elected a Principal Chief without Presidential approval. In the decade of the 1970's the leadership of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation drafted and adopted a new constitution, revitalized the National Council, and began the challenging process of political and economic development. In the 1980's a series of United States Supreme Court decisions affirmed the National's sovereign rights to maintain a National Court system and levy taxes. The federal courts have also consistently re-affirmed the Muscogee Nation's freedom from state jurisdiction.

In the 1990's, almost 100 years after the dark days of the allotment era, the Muscogee (Creek) people are actively engaged in the process of accepting and asserting the rights and responsibilities of a sovereign nation. As a culturally distinct people the Muscogee are also aware of the necessity for knowing and understanding their extraordinary historical and cultural heritage.

MUSCOGEE (CREEK) CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS

AGRICULTURE

By the time of first contact, the Mvskogean people had developed a highly integrated system of hunting, gathering, and farming. Each of these activities was a communal effort. All individuals within a tribal town were responsible for some portion of the food getting. Older boys and men were responsible for hunting and fishing, while women and girls were responsible for gathering and tending the gardens. Small children and the elderly helped to the best of their abilities. This way, food belonged to the entire community and everyone was fed.

Mvskogean people had been cultivating bottle gourds and squash since approximately 1000BC. Squash was an important food source, while the gourds were used as water vessels, ladles, cups, bowls, rattles, and masks. By AD 200, the Creek were cultivating a variety of wild seed crops. After AD 800, "modern' domesticated corn and beans were common throughout the Southeast.

Methods of getting food varied according to the yearly cycle. Winter was considered the most important hunting season, while fishing was most productive during the spring. The first corps were planted during the spring, tended throughout the summer, and harvested before the coming of fall.

Gathering was important year round, but also followed a seasonal cycle. Spring and summer pickings included wild grapes, blackberries, mulberries, strawberries, apples, and plums. By fall, chestnuts, pecans, hickory nuts, black walnuts, and acorns were ready for gathering. Sunflower seeds were also easy to harvest and store for winter.

Contrary to theories, which trace North American seed crops for a South American source, it is now known that the Southeast was a separate center of domestication. Wild gourds, sunflowers, and seed plants such as marsh elder and chenopod, were among the first southeastern staple crops. "modern" corn, or maize, arrived from Mexico around 200 AD. It quickly became the most important vegetable food in the Creek diet, as they learned to prepare it in many ways and utilize it in dozens of unique dishes.

CLANS

While families include people who are directly related to each other, CLANS are composed of all people who are descendants of the same ancestral clan grouping. Each person belongs to the clan of his or her mother, who belongs to the clan of her mother. This is called matrilineal descent. Fathers are important within the family system; but within the clan, it is the mother's brother (the mother's nearest blood relation) who functions as the primary disciplinarian and role model. Clan members do not claim

"blood relation", but consider each other family due to their membership in the same clan. The same titles are used for both family and clan relations. For example, clan members of approximately the same age consider each other as Brother and Sister, even if they have never met before.

Clan ties are strong. They have served as a traditional bond, which continues to unite and empower Creek people even today. The clan system adds structure to society by influencing marriage choices, personal friendships, and political and economic partnerships. It is traditionally considered a serious offense to kill or eat one's own clan animal.

CLOTHING

Early Mvskogean peoples wore clothing made of woven plant materials or animal skins, depending on the climate. During the summer, they preferred lightweight fabrics woven from tree bark, grasses, or reeds. During the harsh winters, animal skins and fur were used for their warmth.

During the 1600's, the influence of European fashion became apparent in Creek clothing styles. Cloth was more comfortable and colorful than buckskin, and quickly became a popular trade item throughout the Southeast. Bolts of cloth could be obtained in a variety of patterns and textures, and allowed an individualized style of dress to evolve. Many Creeks were soon using the trader' novelties and trinkets such as bells, ribbons, beads, and pieces of mirror.

Men began wearing ruffled cloth shirts and jackets, with buckskin leggings. Mens shirts were gathered at the waist by a beaded and tasseled sash. Another woven band was worn across the chest or over one shoulder, and held a decorative tobacco pouch.

Women began wearing cloth dresses and deep-pocketed aprons. They decorated these ruffled dresses with ribbon, and glass and silver trade beads. In their hair they wore silver brooches and colored silk ribbons whish hung almost to the ground. Men and women both wore soft deerskin moccasins. These too were decorated, often quite elaborately, with beadwork designs.

Different styles of dress were worn on different occasions. During the ball games, men wore only a breechcloth. These games were very fast paced and extra clothing would only have inhibited movement. During the Green Corn Ceremony, women participated in a special Ribbon Dance. For this special occasion, women wore beautiful dresses covered with flowing ribbons. During today's ceremonies, women still wear their traditional ribbon dresses. Men, however, have now adapted the boots, jeans, and fitted shirt common throughout the west.

EARLY HISTORY

According to most traditional legends, the Creek people were born from the navel of the earth, located somewhere within the Rocky Mountains. After a time the Earth became angry, opening up and trying to swallow them back again. They left this land and began to travel towards the rising sun. Their journey let them to the Southeastern region of the United States where they flourished and created complex social structures to govern themselves. The people of the Creek Confederacy were first "encountered" by Europeans during the late 1500's.

According to accounts by early explorers and contemporary archaeologists, the Southeastern Indians had by far the richest culture north of Mexico. Daily life was full of magic and mystery, but the importance of ritual was tempered by an equally strong belief in reason and justice. Harmony and balance have always been two very important concepts among the Creek. They are exemplified even within the earliest social structures as the Creek people combined work and play, religion and politics, and respect for nature as both a teach and supplier of needs.

FAMILIES

Within Creek society, a person is a member of both a *FAMILY* and a *CLAN*. The Creek family is an "extended" one, including more people that the typical "nuclear" family. Each Creek household traditionally consisted of a mother and father, their children (daughters and unmarried sons), the husbands of married daughters, grand children, and grandparents or other elders (from the mother's side). This is called a Matriarchal pattern-female relative stay together and men marry into the household, while sons move away to the household of their wife.

Traditional roles and responsibilities of family members were not unlike those of most tribal or village cultures. Men primarily hunted, acted as disciplinarians, held council meetings, and conducted religious ceremonies. Women primarily gathered and prepared food, conducted household activities, and acted as family caregivers. All members of the family supervised education, each playing a part in teaching children the skills and values necessary for becoming a whole and balanced person.

Today, Creek men and women share many of the responsibilities that were once gender specific. Both are responsible for getting food, caring for children, and acting as disciplinarians. Among traditional Creeks, however, there is still a division of responsibilities during ceremonial activities. Women are excluded from all activities except that which involve women only. The Creek family is still an "extended" one, with strong kinship ties between all blood and clan relations. Family members still function as the primary educators of Creek children, especially concerning aspects of tradition, values, and beliefs.

GREEN CORN CEREMONY

The Green corn Ceremony is a celebration of the new corn and the New Year. It is a time of forgiveness and purification for both the ceremonial grounds and the Creek people. Old ways are cast aside as the new year marks a fresh start and new beginning. Every aspect of the ceremony is in some way symbolic of the purification and cleansing that is taking place.

The name of this ceremony refers to its connection with the annual harvest of the New (Green) Corn. This ripening and harvest usually occurs during July or August, and none is eaten before this time. Such thanksgiving and cerebration of a single crop is not unusual considering its traditional importance. Corn was by far the most dependable food source as it produced even when other crops failed or hunting was unsuccessful. Corn could be prepared in a variety of ways and could be used in numerous dishes. Even today corn remains a primary food source, because of both its nutritional value and traditional symbolism.

The ceremony is also referred to as the "*Posketv*" or Busk which means "to fast". Fasting occurs in two ways; first as the community abstains from eating all new corn until the harvest celebration marked by the Green Corn, an second as participants abstain from all food and consume only a traditional herbal drink, a powerful emetic which serves to cleanse the body both physically and spiritually. According to traditionalists, the purpose of this medicine is to purify the people, so that they will be in an acceptable mental and physical state to receive the blessings of the new year.

Purification is the major them of the ceremony, and participants are expected to lay aside ill feelings forgive wrongs done to them, and forget the conflicts of the previous year. It is the Creek belief that all people should act with the kind of honest motivation, which can only come from a pure heart and mind. By designating this time for cleansing, they ensure such purity for another year, and celebrate life as their ancestors have for thousands of years.

NATURE

All Southeastern tribes possess a rich and complex tradition of looking to nature for guidance and inspiration. The Creek have long been recognized as astute observers of the natural world. Every aspect of their environment, from basic botany to astronomy, was at some point studied and explained. All of creation was viewed as a web, an interwoven network of existence. Each creature was in some way inter-related with other creations, and none could exist alone.

Like other living beings, animals were viewed as having unique abilities ad characteristics, which determined their purpose in life. Some animals, such as wolves and owls, were believed to possess extraordinary powers, which could be used to benefit

or punish human beings, depending on how they had been treated. Other animals, such as the turtle, were used as ceremonial symbols because of their special abilities.

The cycle of life could also be observed in all plants and animals. By noticing changes in their environment, the Creek learned when to hunt, when to plant, and when to begin building shelters for the winter. By studying the world around them, they learned where to find water, how to forecast the weather, and what plants were good to eat. Nature was, and is, a great teacher. Traditionalists say that most people have simply forgotten how to observe.

The ability to forecast the weather was a great asset to the Creek people, as they lived so closely with the land. Only by preparing for inclement weather could they ensure the community's food supply, shelter, and safely. As a result, weather was one of the most studied aspects of nature. Creek men and women observed many signs and omens, which they believed, could help them in predicting the coming weather:

- Geese flying southward indicated the coming of winter, while geese flying northward indicated the return of spring.
- The budding of plants and trees signaled the proper time for planting.
- A flock of sparrows eating off the ground was a sign of cold weather.

Others believed that:

- Water could be found near trees whose branches grew toward the ground.
- Rain was most likely to occur when the moon was only ¼ full.

NUMBER FOUR

The number four was sacred among many of the early Southeastern cultures. Four was viewed as the most natural and harmonious number, a means of division for both time and space. The universe itself consisted of four cardinal directions (which together composed the realm of earthly space). Time was divided according to the four consecutive seasons (which demonstrated the perpetual cycle of birth, growth, death, and rebirth). The number four thus represented the totality of creation.

Beliefs concerning the number four were not superstitious or folklorish; four was not a "lucky" number. All things consisting of four parts were considered to be especially stable and harmonious.
Even domestic activities were sometimes regulated by a concern for this "rightness". House-posts were used in multiples of four (12 or 16) to make Creek dwelling places balanced and stable in both the physical and spiritual worlds. Ceremonial events were usually planned to include four specific activities, be conducted by four primary leaders, or last for a total of four days. Each instance of "four' lent a special air of harmony to life. In this way, aspects of the sacred blended with every day tasks and responsibilities.

TIME

The Mvskoke people did not traditionally recognize seven "days" per "week". Time was measured according to natural phenomena, with "day" meaning the time from one sunrise to another. The next unit of time, similar to week but not exactly like it, was measured by phases of the moon. Approximately 7-8 days pass between each of the four moon phases.

In studying the Mvskoke terms for months and seasons, we are reminded that long before there were words to describe the cycles of nature, such cycles existed and were experienced and adapted to. Among the Mvskoke, changes in climate influenced many aspects of life including what they wore, what foods were available to eat, which animals, could be hunted, and what types of community activities should take place. The appearance and movement of stellar objects generally determined the scheduling of ceremonies.

Months were designate by the completion of moon phases, each complete cycle lasting 28-30 days. Each month was equal to the time, which passed between one full moon and the next. The Mvskoke term for each of these months describes a natural event, which is occurring during that time of the year. During *Ke Hvse* (May) the mulberries ripen, while the first frost is usually during *Ehole* (November).

Sometimes only two seasons were acknowledged: the cold season and the warm seasons. More often however, reference is made to four seasons generally corresponding to Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter. There are two primary differences between the Mvskoke and European concepts:

- Traditionally, the Mvskoke year begins with *Hiyuce* (July), the completion of the harvest, and is marked by the Green Corn Ceremony.
- Seasons did not begin and end on specific calendar days. Ex. *Tash'ce* (Spring) began when the days became warmer, the birds began to sing, flowers started growing, and trees became green again. It ended when days became even hotter and berries and fruit began to ripen. (Compare this to current calendars, which designate March 20 to June 21 as "spring".)

TRIBAL TOWNS

Mvskoke people were originally (and remain today) organized by membership in a specific Tribal Town or *Twlwv*. Each *twlwv* acted as both an independent community and a member of the larger "Confederacy" of Mvskoke tribes. Early reports indicated that traditionally only 18 *tvlwv* existed, though this number grew rapidly after European contact. Each town was distinguished as either Red or White (red towns typically addressed issues of war, while white towns were concerned with matters of peace).

Each *twlwv* possessed a "sacred fire" which had been given to them in the beginning, and was kept and rekindled periodically. This fire was considered to be a physical link connecting humankind and the Great Spirit. The fire supplied heat and light for both the households and the community ceremonies, as the sun supplied these things so that all life forms might flourish and continue. For the Mvskoke people, the sun and the sacred fire within the ceremonial ring (paskofv) are the same; both are considered to be male forces and so are parts of the male ritual domain. (The sacred fire is even referred to as poca-grandfather). The fire, like an ancestor or tribal elder, must be treated with respect.

Today there are 16 active ceremonial grounds. Each still maintains a sacred fire, which in many cases was brought from the east during "Removal". The communities associated with these grounds act both independently and as part of Mvskoke (Creek) Nation, and serve many of the same political and spiritual purposes as the original tribal towns.

Muscogee Creek Nation

Legends

THE THUNDER HELPER

Once there was a boy who had no mother or father. All day long he would take long walks and play by himself. One day as the boy was walking along the creek, he heard a noise like Thunder. When he looked up, he saw a Tie-snake and the Thunder having a fight. The Tie-snake called to the boy saying, "Kill the Thunder, and I will tell you everything I know.

I know all the things that are under the earth." Just as the boy was putting an arrow to his bow, he heard a loud noise. It was the Thunder speaking to him, "Boy, boy, don't pay any attention to the Tie-snake, I, Thunder, can help you to be brave, strong and wise. Shoot your arrow at the Tie-snake."

The boy shot at the Tie-Snake, killed him, and the Tie-snake fell into the creek. Now the Thunder made the boy strong and wise, but the Thunder told the boy that he must never, never tell anyone that the Thunder had made him strong, brave and wise. The boy became the best hunter in the village. He was good and kind to all of the people. When he talked, the people listened. In the cold time, the people were very hungry, for there was no food and very little corn.

Many days passed, and the boy stood before them and said, "Last night the owl in the tree talked to me. The owl told me to come to his tree. He told me there was a bear sleeping in a hole in the ground." The young men of the village laughed at him for saying the owl talked to him, but the old men did not laugh for they knew the boy was wise. One of the young men did not laugh. He told the boy he would go hunt the bear with him. He knew the people were hungry.

The young man and boy went to the tree with the owl in it. By the tree, in a hole in the ground, they found the bear sleeping. They killed the bear and took it back to the village. The people were happy to have so much meat to eat. Now, when the boy said something, the people found what he said was true. The time came when the men of the village went to fight. Many men were killed. The women were so afraid; they knew the enemy would come and burn the village.

The boy stood before the women and said, "Do not be afraid. I will go and kill the enemy. They will not burn our village." The boy went into the woods and found the men of the village. He said to them, "Stay where you are. I will go to meet the enemy and kill them. Never again will the enemy try to burn our village." The men watched the boy as he went to meet the enemy. They saw the Thunder and the Lightening. The Thunder and Lightening came down upon the enemy. All the enemy were killed. The men waited in the woods for a long time.

The boy never came back. No one in the village ever saw him again. When the old men hear the Thunder and see the Lightening, they know what to think. They are now wise in many things. They are sure that they hear the boy call in the Thunder, and when the Lightening illuminates the sky, the old men are sure they can see the face of the boy. "The Thunder Helper laughs," the old men say, and then they go to sleep unafraid.

HOW THE CLANS CAME TO BE

In the beginning, the Muscogee people were born out of the earth itself. They crawled up out of the ground through a hole like ants. In those days, they lived in a far western land beside tan mountains that reached the sky. They called the mountains the backbone of the earth. Then a thick fog descended upon the earth, sent by the Master of Breath, Esakitaummesee.

The Muscogee people could not see. They wandered around blindly, calling out to one another in fear. They drifted apart and became lost. The whole people were separated into small groups, and these groups stayed close to one another in fear of being entirely alone. Finally, the Master had mercy on them. From the eastern edge of the world, where the sun rises, he began to blow away the fog. He blew and blew until the fog was completely gone.

The people were joyful and sang a hymn of thanksgiving to the Master of Breath. And in each of the groups, the people turned to one another and swore eternal brotherhood. They said that from then on these groups would be like large families. The members of each group would be as close to each other as brother and sister, father and son. The group that was farthest east and first to see the sun, praised the wind that had blown the fog away.

They called themselves the Wind Family, or Wind Clan. As the fog moved away from the other groups, they, too, gave themselves names. Each group chose the name of the first animal it saw. So they became the Bear, Deer, Alligator, Raccoon, and Bird Clans. However, the Wind Clan was always considered the first clan and the aristocracy of all the clans. The Master-of-Breath spoke to them: "You are the beginning of each one of your families and clans. Live up to your name. Never eat of your own clan, for it is your brother.

You must never marry into your own clan. This will destroy your clan if you do. When an Indian brave marries, he must always move with his wife to her clan. There he must live and raise his family. The children will become members of their mother's clan. Follow these ways and the Muskhogeans will always be a powerful force. When you forget, your clans will die as people."

The Animal Helpers

Source: Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians, By John R. Swanton, 1929

A man on a considerable journey stopped to eat his lunch beside a creek. Then a big black Ant came out and said, "Give me a piece of bread. Sometime I may help you out of trouble." So he gave it some bread. By and by he heard some talking in the water, and some small Minnows came up and said the same thing.

He gave the Minnows some bread also. Then a red-headed Woodpecker came and asked for bread, which he again gave to it. After this the man went on again and came to a town .

There was a lot of wheat at a certain place in that town, and the people told him that he must move it and put it in barrels by morning or they would kill him. So they tied him down on the wheat and went away.

By and by up came the black Ant which he had fed and asked him what the matter was. The man told him, and the Ant immediately went away and brought back a multitude of Ants, who soon had the barrels full. Next morning the people paid him for what he had done, but said that the next night he must dig up a certain tree, root and all, or they would kill him.

This time the Woodpecker came to him and asked what the matter was. "I am in trouble," he said, and he related what had been imposed upon him. Then the Woodpecker flew up and told the lightning and the lightning came down and tore the tree up, roots and all, so that in the morning the people paid him for that.

They told him, however, that a horse loaded with gold had been drowned in a neighboring creek and that they would spare him if he found it by the following morning. So they tied him again and laid him on the bank of the creek.

By and by the little Fishes he had fed came and said, "My friend, what is the matter with you?" He told them, and they went down and brought all the money to land, but they said that they could not get the horse for the snakes alone could do that, and they were only orderlies. They made a pillow of the sack of gold under his head.

The town people paid him for all the work he had done, and he went home a rich man.

HOW THE EARTH WAS MADE

At last the excitement had died down. The news that Crawfish had brought back to the Council from the new lands below was important. Birds, he explained, could live on the new lands; animals could find their food for their survival. The mighty Eagle walked to the center of the fire and began to speak: "We are all filled with joy in our hearts to find that we cannot only send fish, but also birds and animals.

Now we must prepare the lands for the coming of the new creatures, for they cannot live on the lands as they are now. I have an idea. I will ask permission from the Great Council to help create better land below." "Yes, yes," the Council cried, "It is our wish that the lands be a good place to live." The Eagle walked to the Crawfish and took the wet soil from between his claws. Round and round he rolled the soil between his powerful legs.

Then, with a mighty flapping of his huge wings, he soared high above the Council. "What is he doing with the earth in his legs?" Does he intend to steal it?" they cried. Then, with a mighty swish, he hurled the red ball of soil earthward. The soil traveled so fast that it looked like a shooting star falling from the sky. A mighty roar sounded when the ball hit the oceans, making a large wave that parted the water.

The red soil spread out and flattened so much that the earth was made in one move. At first, the lands were very wet, so the Eagle flew over them and dried them with his mighty wings. Soon the lands were dry enough to let the animal migration begin.

The Boy who Flew

A man was out hunting when he noticed a shadow falling over him. Before he knew what happened, a giant eagle seized him and carried him off to its nest. He lived with the eaglets in the nest for some time. Every now and then the mother bird would bring a deer or bear, and the man would roast it for them all to eat. Soon the little eagles became quite tame, and he would venture out in flight a short way from the nest by riding on the back first of one eaglet, then another. Soon the mother began to trust him, so one day he took one of the little eagles and flew a very great distance way. He whacked the eagle on the back of its head, and it became dizzy, circling toward the ground. Every time the eagle recovered, he would knock it again. Finally, he reach the ground and escaped.

Muscogee Creek Nation

"Condensed" Chronicles of Oklahoma

THE PLEA OF CRAZY SNAKE (Chitto Harjo)

By JOHN BARTLETT MESERVE.

The detention of Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake) in the Federal jail at Muskogee in 1901 by the United States authorities, inspired these lines of tribute penned at the time by Alexander Posey, the famous dream poet of the Creeks. Chitto Harjo, most familiarly known as Crazy Snake and also known among the whites as Wilson Jones, was a full blood Creek Indian of the old, decadent type. After the collapse of the Green Peach War and the retirement of Isparhecher from public affairs, Harjo became the acknowledged leader of the discordent full blood Creeks who were opposing the allotment of tribal lands and the extinction of the tribal government. The dissatisfied Indians who rallied to Harjo's leadership were a mere handful compared with the entire tribal membership but were none the less determined to recapture and resume the primitive status and practices of a none too heroic past. The feeling was general among these malcontents that they had been wronged by the Government and there was a blend of
much truth in their indictment that both spirit and law of past treaties had been wantonly violated and their cherished hereditary rights and immunities destroyed. In truth, and in fact, the United States treated the Indians like unwanted step-children throughout its early course of dealing with them.

The efforts which Harjo undertook in 1901 to establish a separate political status for his unyielding full blood followers at the old Hickory Stomp Grounds southeast of Okmulgee, were ill advised and farcical although undertaken with the utmost sincerity and good faith. The debacle was a tragic failure, Harjo and some of his militant associates were taken into custody by the military arm of the Government and indicted, tried and convicted in the Federal court, but were subsequently reprimanded and paroled by the court. Harjo was not wanting in the "courage to defy the powerful makers of his fate" but it had been a futile gesture.

During the succeeding five years, the allotment of the Creek tribal lands was accomplished and the tribal government completely extinguished, to all of which the sullen "Snake" Indians continued to be disinterested observers. They declined to make selections of their distributive shares of the tribal domain and arbitrary selections were made for each of them.

Late in the fall of 1906, a Special Senate Investigating Committee came to the old Indian Territory to investigate and report upon general conditions. Secretary of the Interior Garfield accompanied the committee which was composed of Senators Teller of Colorado, Clarke of Montana, Brandagee of Connecticut and Long of Kansas. Public hearings were held at the principal points in the Territory and on November 23rd, the committee opened a hearing in Tulsa. The meeting was held in the old Elk's lodge hall in the Seaman Building on West Third Street and when the session opened at ten o'clock the hall was packed to its capacity. Chitto Harjo accompanied by perhaps a dozen of his associates occupied conspicious front seats and the old warrior's presence being noted by the committee, he was accorded an opportunity to address the solons. Rising solemnly and with much deference, the "Snake" chief with the late David M. Hodge at his side as interpreter, advanced to the committee and with marked eloquence which held the committee and the spectators spellbound delivered what might be said to be the last protest of an expiring race. The scene was dramatic and one which will ever linger in the annals of Tulsa. Harjo spoke calmly used no gestures and with no hesitation for language to express himself

"I will begin with a recital of the relations of the Creeks with the Government of the United States from 1861 and I will explain it so you will understand it

I look to that time—to the treaties of the Creek Nation with the United States—and I abide by the provisions of the treaty made by the Creek Nation with the Government in 1861. I would like to enquire what had become of the relations between the Indians and the white people from 1492 down to 1861?

"My ancestors and my people were the inhabitants of this great country from 1492. I mean by that from the time the white man first came to this country until now. It was my home and the home of my people from time immemorial and is today, I think, the home of my people. Away back in that time—in 1492—there was man by the name of Columus came from across the great ocean and he discovered this country for the white man—this country which was at that time the home of my people. What did he find when he first arrived here? Did he find a white man standing on this continent then or did he find a black man standing here? Did he find either a black man or a white man standing on this continent? I stood here first and Columbus first discovered me.

"Now, coming down to 1832 and referring to the agreements between the Creek people and the Government of the United States; What has occurred since 1832 until today? It seems that some people forget what has occurred. After all, we are all one blood; we have the one God and we live in the same land. I had always lived back yonder in what is now the State of Alabama. We had our homes back there; my people had their homes back there. We had our troubles back there and we had no one to defend us. At that time when I had these troubles, it was to take my country away from me. I had no other troubles. The troubles were always about taking my country from me. I could live in peace with all else, but they wanted my country and I was in trouble defending it. It was no use. They were bound to take my country away from me. It may have been that my country had to, be taken away from me, but it was not justice. I have always been asking for justice. I have never asked for anything else but justice. I never had justice. First, it was this and then it was something else that was taken away from me and my people, so we couldn't stay there any more. It was not because a man had to stand on the outside of what was right that brought the troubles. What was to be done was all set out yonder in the light and all men knew what the law and the agreement was. It was a treaty—a solemn treaty—but what difference did that make? I want to say this to you today, because I don't want these ancient agreements between the Indian and the white man violated and I went as far as Washington and had them sustained and made treaties about it. We made terms of peace, for it had been war, but we made new terms of peace and made new treaties. Then it was the overtures of the Government to my people to leave their land, the home of their fathers, the land that they loved.

"What took place in 1861? I had made my home here with my people and I was living well out here with my people. We were all prospering. We had a great deal of property here, all over this country. We had come here and taken possession of it under our treaty. We had laws that were living laws and I was living here under then laws. You are my fathers and I tell you that in 1861, I was living here in peace and

plenty with my people and we were happy; and then my white fathers rose in arms against each other to, fight each other. They did fight each other. At that day Abraham Lincoln was President of the United States and our Great Father. He was in Washington and I was away off down here. My white brothers divided into factions and went to war. When the white people raised in arms and tried to destroy one another, it was not for the purpose of destroying my people at all. It was not for the purpose of destroying treaties with the Indians. They did not think of that and the Indian was not the cause of that great war at all. The cause of that war was because there was a people that were black in skin and color who had always been in slavery. In my old home in Alabama and all through the south part of the Nation and out in this country, these black people were held in slavery and up in the North there were no slaves. The people of that part of the United States determined to set. the black man free and the people in the South determined that they should not and they went to war about it. In that war the Indians had not any part. It was not their war at all. The purpose of the war was to set these black people at liberty and I had nothing to. do with it

"I am speaking now of this orator in the Federal Army. I went and fell before him and I and my people joined the Federal Army because we wanted to, keep our treaties with the father in Washington. Things should not have been that way but that is the way they were. The father at Washington was not able to keep his treaty with me and I had to leave my country, as I have stated, and go into the Federal Army. I went in as a Union soldier. When I took the oath, I raised my hand and called God to witness that I was ready to die in the cause that was right and to help my father defend his treaties.

Senator Teller of the Committee enquired of Mr. Hodge, the interpreter, "Do you believe that the old man is honest in his statements?" Mr. Hodge very readily and with emphasis answered, "Yes sir, he is

as honest and straight forward and sincere in his statements as a living man can be."

After concluding his address, Harjo bowed low to the committee and retired from the hall with his followers.

A year later, Statehood came with its complement of new, untried State, District and County officials and the Indian had a new set of masters. Early in the summer of 1908, whisperings of another full blood Indian uprising began to drift in from the old Hickory neighborhood which seemed to indicate that the personal prowess of the new officials was going to be put to a test. Rumor had it that old Chitto Harjo had resumed the war path although the old Indian knew nothing about it until he learned that the State Militia was seeking for him. The worst that could be said of Harjo was, that he had talked too much but he committed no overt act against the State in 1908. The old man disappeared rather than face a prejudiced public opinion in the new courts of the State. Timid settlers whose fears were aroused by the reports, appealed to the new sheriff of McIntosh County, to investigate and restore the majesty of the law, but the sheriff was too frightened even to investigate and called upon the new Governor for military aid in quelling the insurrection, which was purely an imaginary one. The State Militia boldly marched into McIntosh County and martial law

Hickory country and the search for old Crazy Snake began. They never did find the old, decrepid Indian but they did find a few peaceful full blood Creek Indians living quietly in their log cabins with no thought or purpose of fomenting any trouble. There was no Indian uprising nor insurrection by the Snake Indians in 1908 and no occasion for the spectacular display of the military arm of the State at that time. It does seem, however, that discovery was made that a pack of dogs unwarrantedly had chased a rabbit into the smoke house of a white settler and in digging the rabbit out, the dogs had caused the smoke house to collapse and the affair was laid to the door of Crazy Snake and his folks. From this incident the Smoked Meat Rebellion took its place in the early history of the State of Oklahoma and the State Militia marched down the hill again

Little remains to be said of Chitto Harjo, the innocent cause of this state-wide panic. In Indian fashion, he just faded away,

not as a fugitive from justice but because he was becoming too circumscribed by the white man and his individualistic practices. The old Indian just wouldn't civilize and so report has it that he died down in the Choctaw county about 1913—"a red man still".

DEATH OF CRAZY SNAKE

NOTE:—After the escape of Crazy Snake from the officers, nothing was heard of him for three or four years and the report went out that he and some of his trusted followers had gone to Mexico, but it later developed that he had hidden himself away at the home of Daniel Bobs, a full blood Choctaw, living in the Kiamichi Mountains. Fred Barde that well known and thoroughly reliable correspondent of the Kansas City Star, made some personal investigation about 1913 for the purpose of finding out what had become of the belligerent leader of the Creek full bloods, Chitto Harjo, and it was largely through his efforts that the facts concerning his death were established.

In order to keep history straight concerning the death of Crazy Snake, I will give some excerpts from the Barde story:

"The mystery of the disappearance of Chitto Harjo, or Crazy Snake, the noted leader of the Creek fullblood Indians known as Snakes, had been revealed. Chitto Harjo is dead. This fact only recently became known. For several years agents of the United States government sought patiently for news of Chitto Harjo. His friends and kinsmen shook their heads or stared blankly in fullblood fashion at their inquisitors. The fullbloods keep their secrets from white men.

"Chitto Harjo died at the home of his old Choctaw friend, Daniel Bob, hidden away in the Kiamichi Mountains, seven miles from the little town of Smithville, where there has been a Choctaw settlement since 1829. His grave is in Daniel Bob's yard, where it was located by an agent of the United States Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes, several weeks ago.

"Daniel Bob gave this account of Chitto Harjo's last days through an interpreter, Jerry Samuel:

"Daniel received word shortly after the fight at Chitto Harjo's home to go to a point north of McAlester, where he found Chitto with a bad wound in his hip. Charles Coker, Chitto's full-blood lieutenant, had been shot through the chest during the fight. Coker, while escaping, is said to have killed the two deputy sheriffs. Both Chitto and Coker said that the officers fired without warning, the moment that Chitto and Coker appeared at the door

"The journey to Daniel Bob's home was along a secluded route. Chitto was unable to ride his horse without great pain, so they rode half a day and rested half a day. The party passed through old South McAlester, thence north of Wilburton, and through the Winding Stair Mountains by the old road leading from Wilburton to the Kiamichi river. through the Kiamichi Mountains a narrow trail was followed to the head waters of Eagle Fork, and thence round the edge of Bobtukle Mountain by a seldom used deer trail to the home of Daniel Bob. The party was composed of Chitto, Coker, Daniel Bob, and Anderson Harris, of Lukfata.

"Spring has passed four times since Chitto Harjo was laid to rest in his grave-house at the home of Daniel Bob. He died in a foreign land—the Choctaw country, for such a fullblood would consider any spot outside the boundaries of his tribal lands. His abandoned home in the Creek Nation, valued at several thousand dollars, forced the Federal government to perservere in its search for Chitto, and only the most assiduous inquiry led to his location.

"Daniel Bob, in Indian fashion, dictated a letter to the writer that for simplicity and directness belongs to Homeric times. It reads:

"There was a man by the name of Chitto Harjo were came over here at my place.

"He were stay here while, and he got down in April 5, 1911, and the last few days of his life were spent in bed. One morning in April 11, 1911, at 10 o'clock, his life passed from away.

"In this April 5, he get down that with indeed distress, as the gunshot wound in his hip, and had died.

"Than we laid him good in my house yard. That where he lie in grave.

"This is all about Chitto Harjo death at my place".

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ALEXANDER LAWRENCE POSEY

By DORIS CHALLACOMBE

"O, golden breasted bird of dawn,
Through all the bleak days singing on,
Till winter woo'd a captive by thy strain
Breaks into smiles, and spring is come again."[1]

Oklahomans, as they peruse the rare poems of the greatest native poet, are privileged to have their lives sweetened by this sentiment. As a political and educational leader, Alexander Posey was excelled by none of his contemporaries. Living during a period when tribal affairs were being concluded, he served his people as only one of incomparable understanding could serve them.

Alexanader L. Posey was born in the Creek nation about eight miles from where the town of Eufaula, Oklahoma, now stands, August 3, 1873.

Early in life, Lewis Posey arranged for the beginning of Alexander's education. A private tutor was his first experience. He studied the English language, but always seemed to prefer to speak in his native Creek tongue. Alexander tells this story in one of his writings.[3]

"I never spoke any English until compelled to speak it by my father. One evening when I blurted out in the best Creek I could command, and began telling him about a horse hunt, he cut me off shortly: 'Young man, if you don't tell me that story in English after supper, I am going to wear you out.' I was hungry, but this put an abrupt end to my desire for the good things I had heaped on my plate.

"I got up from the table and made myself useful—brought water from the well, turned the cows into the pasture—thinking maybe this would cause him to forget what he had said. My goodness, however, was without avail, for as soon as he came from the table he asked me in a gentle but firm voice to relate my horse-hunt. Well, he was so pleased with my English that he never afterwards allowed me to speak Creek."

Alex attended grade school in Eufaula. He proved to be a student with an immediate desire for learning. During the long winter evenings, he listened to the tales, legends and folk lore of the Indian race, as related by his mother. His desire to write did not develop until after he had entered Bacone University.

He attracted great attention by the delivery of the commencement address at the time of his graduation from college at the age of twenty-two. His subject was "Does it Pay to Educate the Indian?' The genuineness of his interest in the subject, and the fervor of his delivery, made this speech the oustanding address of the evening.

The Creek nation affairs were in need of an able and honest leader at this time. Posey was elected in 1895 to a seat in the House of Warriors, of the Creek Legislature. He attended all the meetings of the Councils or Conclaves in the Indian Territory where he acted with shrewdness and competency for his tribe.

In 1896, Posey was Superintendent of the Creek Nation Orphan Asylum at Okmulgee A short time before, he had been introduced to Miss Minnie Harris of Fayetteville, Arkansas, a woman of culture and charm. The following entry was written in his journal under the date of January 4, 1897.

> "I have nowhere mentioned my 'better half'. The story of our courtship and marriage would make a readable romance. I was introduced to her one
>
> > morning nearly two years ago by J. N. Thornton, 'ye' editor of the *Indian Journal*, at breakfast in the hotel at Eufaula. The beauty of the young school teacher thoroughly charmed me; and though I saw her frequently, I could not sufficiently overcome my Indian nature to talk with her. She went away. I thought of her constantly; would sometimes grow anxious to declare my love by letter. Two months passed and she returned to take up her work. One day I made it convenient to pass by the school-house. I got a glimpse of her as I hurried by on my 'ballie', and another as I returned. My love grew deeper. Three months later I was elected to the position I now hold. One night I was at Eufaula, and by chance, met her. I offered her a place in my school. She accepted it and when summer was come again, 'two hearts beat as one'."[5]

Posey was superintendent of the Orphans Home at Okmulgee until 1897, when he resigned. The Superintendency of Public Instruction of the Creek Nation was the next public position he occupied. He did not serve long, however, as he saw the need of going back to his home near Stidham, Oklahoma.

Posey was a scholar of marked ability. This was shown in the selection of books for his library. He was very fond of reading, and while on canoe trips down the Canadian River he read books on Creek anthology.

He was not to remain undisturbed long. A man possessing such executive ability could not go unnoticed. The National High School at Eufaula needed a superintendent, and the people of his tribe persuaded him to serve. Then, after serving satisfactorily in this capacity, he was persuaded to become superintendent of the Wetumpka National School. Following this, he returned to Eufaula to take editorial charge of the *Indian Journal*.

It was at this time that the Dawes Act was closing up affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes, and sentiment among the members of the tribe was divided on important matters. Posey sought to express his opinion and the opinion of the leaders of his tribe in a series of letters dealing with the course of events by which the Indian was being displaced in his native land. They were designed as conversations between Wolf Warrior, Kono Harjo, and Tookpofko Micco, old Creek men, and men prominent in Indian Territory affairs. These prominent white men were spoken of with the following names: Tams Bixby was "Toms Big Pie:" Pliny Soper was "Plinty-so-far"; Secretary Hitchcock was "Secretary Its-cocked"; Governor Haskell was "Governor C. N. Has-it"; Senator Owen was "Colonel Robert L. Owes-em." These letters attracted world-wide attention. The *London Times* asked for permission to print them. They were known as "The Fus Fixico Letters."

Posey edited the *Indian Journal* for more than two years. He was next employed on the *Muskogee Times* at Muskogee. He

had worked with the *Times* only a short time when he was offered a job in the United States Indian Agency at Muskogee. With Drennan C. Scraggs, he took charge of the Creek Enrollment Party of the Five Civilized Tribes, at the request of the Dawes Commission. It was the duty of this party to appraise the land held by the Indian Tribes, preparatory to the making of allotments. The Indians had great faith in Posey and he was enabed to do a good piece of work in this field.

The wiser men among the tribe thought it best to call a constitutional convention and apply for statehood. Accordingly, they met at Muskogee, August 21, 1905. Posey was made secretary of this body. He formulated in large the constitution and proposed the name "Sequoyah" for the new state. Much credit for the success of Indian Territory is due Posey.

At the close of this period in the fascinating life of the Indian bard, he decided to return to the *Indian Journal* at Eufaula. Upon notice of his intentions, the *McAlester News* wrote under the caption "Fus Fixico Back":

> "Alexander Posey again takes charge of the *Eufaula Indian Journal*. There will be joy at least throughout Oklahoma newspaperdom over the following announcement in the *Muskogee Phoenix*: 'Alex Posey, the Bard of Tuledge, the writer of the famous Fus Fixico Letters, has gone back to his rightful calling after four years of battling the vulgar commercial world . . . . . This is the oldest newspaper in Oklahoma, having been established in 1877. During the years of 1902 and 1903, Mr. Posey was editor of the *Journal* and won fame as an Indian dialect writer. He then came to Muskogee and was employed on the old *Muskogee Times*, after which he went into the Government service where he remained until a little over a year ago. While in the government employ, Posey succeeded in getting Crazy Snake to come in and take his allotment. In addition to editing the *Journal*, Mr. Posey will do literary work. The press of Oklahoma will welcome him back into the fold.'

A short time after this, Posey became quite a figure in the dispute over the location of the McIntosh county seat. Posey was a strong advocate for its location at Eufaula, while a group headed by Oblenness of Hoffman were working for Checotah. Many articles and items were exchanged in the ensuing contention. Eufaula was eventually chosen.

On the 27th day of May, 1908, Posey started from Muskogee to Eufaula with R. D. Howe, an attorney. This trip was destined to prove fatal for the one who was honored and revered among his people. The railroad bridge had washed out near Wells and it was impossible for the train to go on. The train was stopped and the two men talked over the idea of walking the rest of the way. They found the road bed and the track were both washed out, so they planned to have two negroes row them across. The water was so swift that the boat became unmanageable. After jumping into the roaring swirling stream, they tried to swim to shore. Obstructions in the form of railroad ties, wire, and siding, prevented Posey from reaching shore. Assistance from his companion and the efforts of those on shore and in boats failed to save him. His body was recovered about a month later.

A tribute to Posey written in the *Muskogee Phoenix* by S. M. Rutherford July 23, 1908, reads as follows:

> "What we mourn here is not Posey, but the workshop, the tenement of clay in which he developed and cultivated those qualities of heart and mind which alone move us to this devotion . . . He loved nature, and in the silence of his own heart and in his own way, worshiped nature's God . . . . . In all his thoughts and expressions, however, he disclosed a belief of and a reliance in a universal religion, comprehensive enough for the whole human race . . . . . To him life was not vouchsafed as a period for selfish indulgences, nor to be regarded as a void in the cycles of eternity, but rather as an earthly sojourn of probation full of life and consequences for which he was to answer at the last great day. Instead of mourning, let us look up and address in the words of the poet:
>
> 'The day has come, not gone,
> Thy sun is risen, not set,
> Thy life is now beyond
> The reach of death or change
> Not ended, but begun,
> Oh, noble soul, Oh gentle heart, hail and farewell'!"

Among the relatives still living are Mrs. Pohas Harjo-Posey, mother of Alexander Posey, who lives on a farm near Wewoka, Oklahoma. A son lives in the East and his wife, Mrs. Minnie Posey, is living in California. Her exact address is not available at this writing.

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ALEXANDER McGILLIVRAY, EMPEROR OF THE CREEKS

Alexander McGillivray has been described as the most gifted man ever born on the soil of Alabama by a man who was a noted soldier, prolific historian, and president of the United States. He also credits him as a chieftain whose cool and masterly diplomacy enabled his people, the Creeks, to maintain their power and position better than any other Indians against the American early settlers.

There is an Indian tradition that while carrying her first child the young woman had numerous dreams of great quantities of books, ink, and papers, many more than she had ever seen in her father's house at the fort. Her first baby, born in 1740, was a boy who was given the all conquering name of Alexander and whose ability as a writer, when a man, is amply shown in his letters in the American State Papers. These letters received the commendation of Washington and his cabinet, and guided the destiny of Spanish Florida.

When Alexander reached the age of fourteen his mother gave her consent (which was necessary, as among the Creeks, the children always belong to the mother) and Lachlan took him to Charleston and placed him in a school. Several years later he transferred him to a counting house at Savannah but the boy had no ability for business and preferred to employ his time in reading the histories of the various countries of Europe. He displayed such a taste for study that his father finally took him back to Charleston and placed him under the tuition of his cousin the Reverend Farquhar McGillivray where he received an education in Greek and Latin.

Although grown to manhood Alexander still dreamed of his mother and two beautiful young sisters, Sophia and Jeannet, of his home by the clear Coosa, of hunting trips armed with his bow and arrows, or his blow gun, and the memory becoming too poignant he finally mounted his horse and returned to the scenes of his childhood

He was eagerly welcomed by the chiefs of his nation, who were having serious trouble with the citizens of Georgia and they called upon him because of his descent from the Wind family to assume their leadership, the tremendous burden of which he carried until his death. This was a task almost unbelievably difficult and no other man could have secured the measure of support he did from such a poorly united band of followers. He was described by Roosevelt as "a born leader and perhaps the only man who could have used aright a rope of sand as was the Creek confederacy." He became the head chief and remained in his nation making his home at one of the McGillivray plantations where he lived in the barbaric state befitting an Indian Emperor as he was designated by his subjects. His authority extended over the Seminole and Chickamauga which with other followers increased adherents to 10,000 warriors

McGillivray had great influence at this time and he was approached by the British through Colonel Tait who was stationed on the Coosa; bestowing on the chief the rank and pay of a British colonel they hoped to secure the aid of the Creek Nation in the conflict against the rebellious Americans. He proved himself loyal to their interests throughout the whole war of the Revolution which is not surprising, as his father was a devoted Royalist and it was the English who first conferred honors and emoluments on the proud and ambitious chief. McGillivray was not of a robust constitution and while he led several expeditions during the war his particular ability lay in his great gift of diplomacy and his power to control men, and raise forces for the king.

The Provisional Congress appointed a commission headed by Andrew Pickens to treat with the southern Indians and Pickens wrote the Alabama Talleyrand urging him to enter into a treaty of friendship with the United States Government. The able chief replied in the following letter which demonstrates his character: "Little Tallase, 5th Sept. 1785. Sir: ...The notification you have sent us is agreeable to our wishes, as the meeting is intended for the desirable purpose of adjusting and settling matters, on an equitable footing, between the United States and the Indian nations. At the same time, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise that a measure of this nature should have been so long delayed, on your part. When we found that the American independence was confirmed by the peace, we expected that the new government would soon have taken some steps to make up the differences that subsisted between them and the Indians during the war, to have taken them under their protection, and confirmed them in their hunting grounds. Such a course would have reconciled the minds of the Indians, and secured the States their friendship, as they considered your people their natural allies."

Little Tallase, four miles above Wetumpka was the favorite residence of Colonel McGillivray, and was the place from which he wrote most of the letters which display so forcibly his consummate diplomacy. The commissioners of Congress were delighted with the friendly letter from McGillivray and they arrived at Galphinton to find that only two chiefs and sixty warriors had come to meet them and McGillivray was not one of the chiefs. The commissioners declined to treat with the Indians present but

departed before commissioners representing Georgia made a treaty with those present which granted the latter the territory lying on the east of a line, to run from the junction of the Oconee and Ockmulgee to the St. Mary's River, including all of the islands and harbors, and which constitutes more than half of the coast of Georgia.

McGillivray wrote to James White, Superintendent of Creek Indians, April 8, 1787, that the reason the Creek chiefs signed the treaty was because they found the Georgians with an armed body of men, prepared for hostilities, and he added

"If I fall by the hand of such, I shall fall the victim of the noblest of causes, that of maintaining the just rights of my country. I aspire to the honest ambition of meriting the appellation of the preserver of my country, equally with the Chiefs among *you*, whom, from acting on such principles, you have exalted to the highest pitch of glory."

During the year 1789 the Federal Government tried in many ways to gain the friendship of McGillivray who refused to consider one treaty but agreed to meet commissioners on September 15. He wrote Panton in a very exultant strain

"In this do you not see my cause of triumph, in bringing these conquerors of the Old, and masters of the New World, as they call themselves, to bend and supplicate for peace, at the feet of a people whom, shortly before, they despised and marked out for destruction..." This was one of the triumphant moments of the life of the "honored and beloved man" and he fully displayed his power and scorn. He continued in the following picturesque language: "My people being all at home, and the great ceremony of kindling the new fire being just over, I deem it the fittest time to meet these commissioners, and have accordingly made the broken days, of which nine are left, to set out in. In conducting the business of the treaty, I will, ...confine it to fixing our

limits and the acknowledgment of the independence of my nation." He declared that he would refuse a commercial treaty and that if the stipulations clashed with those already entered into with Spain he would not hesitate to cut short the negotiations. He stated: "The commissioners of the United States say, it would give them great pleasure to have a private conversation, previous to our entering into the business of the treaty, as it would tend to make it go on agreeably, and with more ease. I need not

interpret this paragraph to you, when you already know that I have, for some time past, been endeavoring to recover my house and lands, with my family estate, which...is more than 39,999 pounds sterling, the offer of which is now, I expect, to be pressed upon me." He gives a detailed statement as to his obligations to Panton for his support and the expenses of the government and while he did not doubt his continued generosity it was distasteful to "the feeling heart, to be beholden to subsist on the bounty of private friendship" and states his position as being offered the restoration of his property, of more than one hundred thousand dollars on the one hand or not having the wherewithal to pay an interpreter on the other. He complains bitterly of the miserable pittance furnished him by his Catholic Majesty and which he had some time since refused, and added: "if they want my services, why not a regular establishment made, as was done by the English, with a competent salary affixed, and allowance for two interpreters . . ."

Panton was under the deepest obligations as McGillivray had been in a position to make it possible for him to gain boundless wealth. He had trading houses in all the large posts in Florida, and a store in Pensacola where he employed fifteen clerks. He was the owner of immense "skin-houses" where pelts were assorted and prepared for shipment to foreign markets. His establishments extended as far west as the Mississippi River and he also was the owner of fifteen schooners which were employed in his trade. Naturally he was alarmed at the menace of a new commercial treaty with the Americans.

Pickett in his interesting *History of Alabama* says of McGillivray: "This able and ingenious Indian, Scotchman or Frenchman, (for who can tell which blood most influenced

his disposition,) kept Panton, Spain, and the United States in a state of feverish excitement, while Georgia was horribly harrassed, and made to feel his malignant resentment, for the banishment of his father and the confiscation of his patrimony."

General McGillivray suffered from a serious fever in the summer of 1792 while at Mobile. His end was fast approaching and he returned to his favorite abode on Little River.

The letter which Panton sent to Lachlan McGillivray, in Scotland announcing the death of his son is full of interest and gives a vivid picture of the last days of this remarkable man. Writing from Pensacola April 10, 1794 he said: "...Your son, sir, was a man that I esteemed greatly. It so happened that we had an interest in serving each other, which first brought us together, and, the longer we were acquainted, the stronger was our friendship.

"I found him deserted by the British, without pay, without money, without friends, and without property, saving a few negroes, and he and his nation threatened with destruction by the Georgians, unless they agreed to cede them the better part of their country. I had the good fortune to point out a mode by which he could save them all, and it succeeded beyond expectation.

"...He died on the 17th February, 1793, of complicated disorders—inflamed lungs and the gout on his stomach. He was taken ill on the path, coming from his cow-pen, on Little River, where one of his wives, Joseph Curnell's daughter, resided, and died eight days after his arrival here. No pains, no attention, no cost was spared, to save the life of my friend; but fate would have it otherwise, and he breathed his last in my arms.

"...He died possessed of sixty negroes, three hundred head of cattle, with a large stock of horses.

"...I advised, I supported, I pushed him on, to be the great man. Spaniards and Americans felt his weight, and this enabled him to haul me after him, so as to establish this house with more solid privileges than, without him. I should have attained. This being the case, if he had lived, I meant, besides what he was owing me, to have added considerably to his stock of negroes. What I intended to do for the father, I will do for his children. This ought not to operate against your making that ample provision for your grand-son, and his two sisters, which you have it in your power to make. They have lately lost their mother, so that they have no friends, poor things, but you and me. My heart bleeds for them; and what I can, I will do. The boy, Alleck, is old enough to be sent to Scotland, to school, which I intend to do, next year, and then you will see him." This letter of Panton's was found in the records of the District Court at New Orleans.

General McGillivray was interred in the beautiful garden of Panton, in Pensacola, and Masonic honors were paid him. He was a great loss to Panton and his passing caused deep sorrow to the Indians whose champion he had been for many years.

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CHITTO HARJO

Chitto Harjo, popularly known as Crazy Snake, expressed the philosophy of his life when he said that he would not mind so much playing the white man's game if only the white man would not make all the rules. He thus summed up, perhaps unconsciously, the long losing fight he had waged against tremendous odds. He had tried to play the red man's game, but the white man was the referee and changed the rules as often as was expedient. Indomitable of will, firm and unchanging of purpose, Harjo stood firmly but unsuccessfully against the resistlessly inrolling tide of white immigration. It was a final conflict between two civilizations: one powerful with all the massed-up strength of generations, and with land hungry hordes following up and even preceding the conquests of the government; the other was few in numbers, lacking the resources and solidness of a civilized state, and possessing land and homes only at the sufferance of the white man. There could

be but one issue to such a conflict, but that great Indian, although half-knowing that the fate of the red man was written, followed in the way of his forefathers in defiance of the law of the white man.

Chitto Harjo was born about the year 1854 in Creek Indian Territory, now a part of Oklahoma. Nothing is known of his early life except that he was a follower of Isparhecker, who was the leader of the federal element among the Creeks during the Civil War. Harjo showed promise of leadership and gained prominence in a tribal disturbance called the Green Peach War.

In 1892 the long feared spectre of division of tribal lands took tangible form when Congress created the Dawes Commission for the purpose of inducing the Indians to agree to allotment of lands. Harjo at once became the acknowledged leader of the dissenting faction. As a member of the House of Kings he continually warned his people that allotment of lands would lead to the final step in the white man's dominance over the Indian. He foresaw with the utmost clarity that to break up the old communal system of land ownership by alloting a quarter-section to each Indian would be to crumble the foundation of tribal unity and government. He was a prophet, at once denouncing his people for straying from the way of their forefathers and warning them that the destruction of the Creek nation was imminent.

Harjo's followers were mostly fullbloods, but at a later time many negroes of part Indian blood were admitted into the Snake faction. As Harjo is most widely known as Crazy Snake, and his followers were designated as Snakes, it would be well to explain whence the term came. Chitto is a Creek word meaning snake, and Harjo signifies one who is brave beyond discretion, foolhardy, or in a loose sense, crazy. Thus Chitto Harjo became known to the whites as Crazy Snake.
In general, the half-breeds and intermarried citizens of the Creek nation favored the allotment of lands. Many of them already owned fine farms, and all of them expected to gain if the white man's civilization supplanted the old communal system of tribal ownership. About one-third of the Creeks, counting the Negroes, were followers of Harjo. Between his group actively opposing allotments and the mixed-bloods who supported it was a large group who were either half-willing to take allotments or could easily t

Thus, on one side were ranged the more progressive and better educated mixed-bloods, the eager land agents and promoters, the ego-centric type of community boosters, and the great federal government. On the other side and opposing this group stood Crazy Snake and his little band of about 5,000 followers. They were ignorant, poor, and only half realized the vast forces arrayed against them. They knew nothing but that they desired to be left alone to live as they saw fit on the land which the Great White Father at Washington had promised to them and their children as long as grass shall grow and water flow.

Harjo is known to many as a stubborn old Snake with more "courage to defy the powerful makers of his fate" than intellect and reasoning power. But there is every reason to believe that he possessed great native intelligence. The most serious charge against him is that he was a cross-grained malcontent, standing stubbornly in the way of progress. Apart from the malcontent side of it (though he had great reason to be so), the question as to whether or not he stood in the way of progress is a delicate one. Most certainly he was a hindrance to our Western civilization, but it is not so certain that he was a hindrance to real progress. It is difficult to believe that, behind that broad forehead there was not a thing more than mulish obstinacy, that behind that piercing eye there was not a keen intelligence that had thrust through into the heart of the question. I will expound what I believe to have been Harjo's guiding star and principles of action in opposing our Western civilization.

The progress of civilization, as Harjo saw it, meant that treaties would be made and kept only as long as was profitable, and broken when expedient. In no instance, he saw, were the solemn promises sworn on the honor of the United States allowed to stand for long in the way of "progress." To him the white man's civilization was superior to the Indians only in that the young braves multiplied like flies and were given great power to break the promises of their fathers and take the land of the Indian. He could not know that true civilization does not entail the looting of lands and property from uncivilized people. He did not know, as he said before the Senate Committee at Tulsa, that the white man had come to the Indian saying he knew the road that leads to light, and that he was willing to show the Indian this road that the red man might know the blessing of civilization and gain the light. Harjo also knew that the white man himself had not found the light, for his civilization was one of sordid greed.

Over against this, the progress of civilization, stood the simple tribal life he was fighting for. For him the block of allotment plans meant surcease from the continual inroads of the white man. It meant that the Indian would be left in peace to raise his little patches of corn and beans, to hunt and fish, and to keep alive the old customs and traditions. He knew that to place each Indian on a quarter-section as an independent farmer would be to place him on the same economic basis with the white man, who with generations of sustained effort behind him and with his greater skill in tilling the soil, could easily outstrip the Indian in production. Thus the Indian would lose first his government and tribal citizenship, then his lands, and finally his very identity as the conquering race swallowed him up. So on these principles and for these reasons did Chitto Harjo oppose the allocation of Creek lands.

Following close on the work of the Dawes Commission came the Curtis Act. This act, passed in 1898, abolished tribal laws and courts, thus fulfilling the fears of Crazy Snake. Matters came quickly to a head. In 1900 the Creek nation agreed to allot its

lands, thereby consenting to the Curtis Act. Crazy Snake realized that immediate action must be taken if the identity of the Creek nation was to be preserved.

His following among the full-bloods had held together with remarkable tenacity against all the forces working to destroy their unity. With implicit confidence in their leader, they supported his attempt to establish them on a separate political status. In 1901 they proclaimed him their hereditary chief. Harjo at once called a national council of the House of Kings and the House of Warriors at Hickory Ground, six miles from Henryetta. The council proclaimed the reestablishment of the ancient laws and courts acknowledged by the United States in the treaty of 1825. In so doing they challenged the authority of the United States to dissolve the government of another nation, and appealed to the sanctity of treaties.

It has been said that the move was ill-advised. Perhaps it was, but only in that it was unwise for the Indian to hope that the United States would be bound by a treaty which it would break at pleasure. If their attempt to preserve their identity as a nation was ill-advised, then so are all such attempts. It was a desperate effort, but the situation was desperate.

Crazy Snake proclaimed Hickory Ground the capitol of Creek nation instead of Okmulgee. Laws were passed forbidding Creek Indians to employ white labor or to rent lands to whites. A body of light horsemen was organized to enforce the laws. A detachment of them rode into Eufaula and posted a warning to the effect that any Indian renting lands to whites would be fined $100 and given 50 lashes on the back and that all improvements on Indian lands made by whites were to be confiscated.

Wild rumors began to be circulated concerning the activities of the Snake Indians. One was that six hundred Creeks were about to descend on Bristow. It was reported that members of the Snake faction were roving over the whole nation threatening and whipping those who accepted allotments. There is no doubt that there is some truth in this last, but it has been stated by Creek Indians (Mr. Sam Haines and Mr. Johnson Tiger) now living, there was no widespread violences and that Crazy Snake was not overbearing.

The extent of Crazy Snake's measures to expel the white man were no more threatening than those experienced by Mr. George Riley Hall of Henryetta.

Mr. Hall and his brother had rented a farm from a Creek Indian near the Hickory Grounds. They had made considerable outlay on it in time, labor, and money. One evening a Snake Indian named Chowela, accompanied by a light horseman and an interpreter, came to the farm and told Mr. Hall he would have to leave at once. Hall attempted to parley, saying he would lose heavily if he abandoned the farm. Chowela replied they would have to leave regardless, and at once. Then Mr. Hall said he was a citizen of the United States, and would leave only when he was ordered to do so by the federal court at Muskogee. Chowela angrily replied that if he thought he could remain in defiance of the Snake Indian government, he could try.

militia to defend their homes. Newspapers all over the world proclaimed that hundreds of fully armed Indians were on the war-path.

On receiving orders from Governor Haskell, Colonel Roy Hoffman called out five companies of militia, and martial law was declared in the Hickory Ground country. The militia found no armed resistance, nor any evidence of a Snake uprising, for the full-bloods were in their hill country homes.

Meanwhile, Sheriff Odom had secured a warrant for the arrest of Crazy Snake, whom he considered to be the cause of the trouble. The old Snake at this time lived in McIntosh County at the base of Tiger Mountain. The sheriff and several deputies went there to arrest him. They fired at him without warning. Crazy Snake was shot in the hip, and Charles Coker, his lieutenant, was shot through the chest. Coker killed two of the deputies, and with his chief escaped.

With the aid of Daniel Bob, an old Choctaw friend of Crazy Snake's, the two of them traveled by secret routes to the Choctaw country.

Chitto Harjo lived with his friend, Daniel Bob, for the last few years of his life. He died, in distress from the gunshot wound, on April 11, 1911.

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THE CREEK INDIAN COUNCIL IN SESSION

By ALICE M. ROBERTSON.

Although the Capitol of the Creek Nation was established at Okmulgee in the year 1868, I had never been there when the Council was in session in the log Council House. In 1878 I was in Indian Territory on leave of absence from the Indian Department in Washington, where at that time I was employed as a clerk, and was visiting my parents at Tullahassee Mission when I had an opportunity to see the council in session.

Early one beautiful October morning my father and I left Tullahassee with the hack and a pair of Indian ponies,—in the vernacular of that time a hack was a strong, light spring wagon without cover. We crossed the Arkansas River at Henry Texas' ferry, superceded in recent years by what is known as Spaulding Bridge. The drive was one of great charm. We did not mind the open vehicle and our ponies made six miles an hour.

The tall prairie grass waved its russet sprays above golden rod and white and purple asters. At noon we stopped for dinner and to feed our ponies on Cane Creek, where Isaac Smith an enterprising Creek Freedman had built a cluster of log cabins which were the rooms of his hotel. He catered only to white and Indian travelers and patrons usually had a whole cabin to themselves. The cabins were fairly clean though sometimes the small pests, colloquially known as "chinches", were annoying. Father and I spread blankets on the grass out under the trees, and while our noon day meal was prepared we indulged in a siesta in the warm October sunshine. Isaac's was notable for fried chicken with cream gravy, butter milk biscuits, fresh butter, preserves and of course plenty of coffee. After the ponies had finished their eight ears of corn apiece and all the hay they could eat, a negro boy harnessed them up again, we paid two bits each for our dinner and two bits each for the ponies' dinner and went happily on our way, leaving Cane Creek bottom and driving west across the big prairie.

The first evidence that we were coming to Okmulgee as the sun began to drop toward the horizon, was the sight of Severs' pasture. This pasture was three miles square.

with a split rail

fence, nine rails high. In trading with the Indians Fred B. Severs bought small bunches of their surplus stock for which they took exchange in "store goods." These cattle then had the Severs' brand placed upon them and were turned into the pasture until a sufficiently large herd was ready for market. We forded Okmulgee Creek and went up the road past camps and camp houses to, Smiths' Hotel. This was another colored Smith, who was not a Creek freedman but a States' negro with a Creek freedman wife.

Smiths' Hotel was a rather large frame building a block from the Council house. A front room upstairs was assigned to me. It looked out on an upper porch and its windows were curtainless. Its furnishings comprised a low springless bedstead with a feather bed and pillows, one sheet, and a clean patchwork quilt; no mirror, no chair nor wash basin. Guests of the hotel were expected to perform their ablutions on the front porch, below, where there was a long shelf with buckets of water, gourd dippers, tin wash basins with one roller towel. I had prepared for such an emergency with a plentiful supply of soap and towels, so neither father nor I had to patronize the roller towel and I borrowed a basin so I got along very well. Out in front of the hotel, swinging from its iron frame on a high post was an iron plantation bell. A vigorous pulling of the attached rope was the signal to the town that it was meal time.

Meals at Smiths' Hotel were two bits but there were boarding places at which meals could be had for fifteen and twenty cents and not bad meals either. Each breakfast and supper at Smiths' was a replica of the others, everything that could be fried was fried, bacon, eggs, ham, potatoes, corn, etc. At dinner most foods were boiled but there was often barbecued pork or beef, and chicken appeared with dumplings and gravy. For anyone who asked there were Indian dishes, sofkey, tuklike, tooksey, ahpuskey etc. There was always coffee to drink and water if you asked for it, but it was customary to patronize the dippers in the water buckets on the front porch after each meal.

At early candlelight the Council House bell rang and in the dimly lighted hall I went with my father up the steps of the new Council House, recently completed, and used for the first time at this meeting of the Council. Hymns in their own language were

being sung as a congregation gathered in the Hall of the lower house of the Warriors, The "Tustenukkulkee". Men, women and children drifted in during the singing, then a man began to pray and everybody knelt down. The service was entirely in Creek, and the Preacher was the President of the House of Kings, The "Mekkulkee", always addressed as Liketuh Ohliketuh". The Reverend James McHenry, a notably outstanding character, was the son of a Scotch father and Indian mother. During the bloody Creek war which led to the conquering of the Creek people and their exile to Indian Territory, McHenry was a fearless fighter. He foiled all attempts to entrap him

and even a standing reward of $1500.00 for him, dead or alive, failed to bring results. Finally taken however he was carried with his exiled brethren to Indian Territory where he began a new life. He was converted and went into the Methodist Church and was duly licensed and ordained as a minister. He had received a rudimentary education in English. No longer an outlaw, he was a leader of his people, a zealous Christian soldier. The service he conducted was not long, for the village kept early hours.

At six the next morning when Smiths' bell told that breakfast was ready, I got up and joined my father downstairs in time for bacon and eggs, hot biscuit, fried chicken and all the rest. Then we walked around awhile exchanging greetings with our Indian friends. At a quarter of nine the Council House bell rang. We had gone a little earlier to pay our respects to the Principal Chief, the "Mekko Hlakko", in the executive office. Ward Coachman was a man of much ability who was born in the "Old Nation" in Alabama and educated there before following his people West. He was a member of the Alabama Creeks and spoke English, Creek and Alabaman with equal fluence and our interview was a pleasant one. From the executive office we went across the hall to the office of the committee on schools where father placed on file his reports of Tullahassee Mission and left his books for financial audit and approval that the treasurer might issue a warrant for funds. The Contract under which Tullahassee was operated provided a division of expense between the Mission Board and the Creek Nation.

Then we went upstairs to the House of Kings. The "Light Horse" who acted as doorkeeper admitted us and gave us seats

to the left of the dais, on which was the desk of Mekko McHenry. We watched the routine business of the morning hour. Then Mekko McHenry with great dignity and eloquence of voice and gesture made a personal address which brought a smile of gratification to father's face and embarrassed blushes to mine. With the musical style of Creek oratory he was describing to the Mekkulkee the good works of the Robertson family and their accomplishments for the welfare of the Creek people. The young woman present with her father, he said, was a great friend to the Muskogee people In Washington where she worked for Wuhins Mokko, the Government, and had done many things helping them. Especially he enlarged upon the recent contest among themselves in the election for chief where the papers seemed to have been laid aside and forgotten.

All the public life was at a standstill. Their treasury was empty, their Courts and schools were without funds; even the community blacksmiths had no funds till there should be legal recognition of their government and officials through whom the funds should be paid. Though as they saw she was just a girl, she had interceded, and had been allowed, upon examination of their papers, to write a report which had been adopted, the rightful government had been recognized, and peace came to their people. Then his gavel called all to their feet and as father and daughter stood he led the stately stepping band of Indian Kings through their ceremony of presentation and hand shaking, all returning to their places and remaining standing until the fall of the gavel permitted them to be seated. This was an honor never bestowed upon a woman before.

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THE RED STICK WAR

By Arthur H. Hall

CREEK INDIAN AFFAIRS DURING THE WAR OF 1812

Introduction

During the first two and a half centuries of their recorded history the Five Civilized Tribes dwelt close to the settlements of one or more white nations. This long period of contact altered the primitive customs of the Indians greatly and gave them a claim to the title "Civilized". In the writing of Oklahoma history there seems to be a tendency to forget this foundation, laid while the Indians still dwelt in their old home in the southeastern United States. The remarkable progress of the Five Tribes, in their present location is but the superstructure built on the foundation. The Creek Indians especially were exposed to the influence of various European nations. In the long struggles, either as allies or as enemies of the white peoples, these Indians acquired something of the pale face methods of war, diplomacy, and politics; while in times of peace the Creeks took on a smattering of European agriculture, trade, and industry. This paper attempts to tell the story of the tragic denouement of the two and a half centuries of white contact with the Creeks, incidentally giving an idea of the advances made toward white culture while the Indians still lived in the southeast.

Destiny placed the Creek Indians in a march country between rival white powers. This "debatable land" lay in what is now southern and western Georgia and eastern Alabama. In the beginning Spanish Florida was on the south and English Carolina on the north. Each colony courted the favor of the Creeks in order to have a buffer against its rival. The Spanish built missions and offered the Indians Christianity, while the English built trading posts and offered them goods at low prices. For the most part the Creeks did as less barbarous people have often done: they accepted the more worldly of the two blessings. Hence, they made friends with the English. The French from Louisiana next interposed, but on the whole even they were unsuccessful in drawing the Creeks away from England. Aided

by this Indian alliance, the English colonists were able to have the advantage over the two other powers.

Nevertheless, the Creeks were always ready to turn to Spain or France in case the British should abuse their friendship. For this reason the Indians were generally able to get pretty good bargains. On the other hand, the Creeks took part in the quarrels of these white nations, sacrificing their men for causes they did not understand, the settlement of which would effect them only slightly. The climax of British success was reached in 1763 at the close of the French and Indian War, when Great Britain received all of North America east of the Mississippi, including Florida. Now, for a period of about twenty years the Creeks had only the English for neighbors.

Largely through the efforts of a certain Scotch-French-Creek "*mestizo*" by the name of Alexander McGillivray, the Creek Nation remained true to England during the Revolutionary War. They did this only to find that they had been abandoned by England at the close of the war. Spain again took possession on their southern borders while the new United States came into existence on their north and east. Rivalry between Spain and the United States followed, the Creeks, under McGillivray's guidance, making the most of it. The *mestizo*, a master of intrigue, courted and received the protection of Spain, securing the trade of all the Creeks for a Scotch company under Spanish license. Since the Creeks had come to rely almost entirely on articles of white manufacture, McGillivray erected a dictatorship over them based on this trade. He welded the Creek Confederacy of towns into a unified nation for the first time. Warfare was waged against traders and settlers from Georgia, but the United States finally induced McGillivray to accept a treaty. This Treaty of New York (1790) did not end the Creek alliance with Spain. Its main usefulness to the Indians was to keep the United States from becoming too hostile.

English traders from the Bahamas, represented by William Augustus Bowles, now began "endeavoring to retain lands that British diplomats had relinguished in 1783 ". Bowles nearly succeeded in usurping McGillivray's place before he was betrayed into the hands of Spain and sent to Havana to die. He demonstrated that the Creeks had not entirely forgotten their former friendship for Great Britain. In spite of Bowles, McGillivray retained his leadership, under Spanish protection, until 1793. His death in that year opened the way for the first effective participation by the United States in Creek affairs.

He encouraged the Indians to become stock raisers. Many cattle having been introduced during the Revolution, the Creeks took readily to this pursuit. The country was a good range both in summer and winter and the cattle brought a good price. Agents were allowed to buy stock in the Creek country so the Indians could sell their surplus. The gradual failure of the game supply also caused the Indians to turn to stock raising as a substitute. Although all towns had some cattle, few other kinds of live stock were found among the Creeks.

"Peaceful Penetration" by the United States

The Red Stick rebellion of 1813-1814 was but the frothy surface caused by far deeper stirrings in the waters of Creek discontent. The occasion for these stirrings was the gradual rise of the United States to a position of dominance over the Creek Nation. The contact between Creek and Anglo-American subjected the former to two very divergent influences. On the one hand it gave him the same tools, weapons, and knowledge possessed by the white men, thus making him better able to compete with them. On the other hand it-fostered the growth of white communities on all sides of him, threatening to crowd him off his lands and to end his very existence.

It must not be thought that new ideas were introduced and spread without opposition. There was at a very early date (1799) a faction in every town of the nation that opposed Hawkins' "plan of civilization". The agent attributed this to the desire of such persons for presents, since the distribution of gifts was the method generally used to placate the Indians.[9] The seat of the agency was on the Flint River, among the Lower Creeks. It seems that because of his nearness, Hawkins' influence was always greater over this part of the nation than over the Upper towns, a fact that had no little bearing on the division of factions in 1813.

If the "plan of civilization" had progressed as rapidly as

Hawkins desired, possibly the Creeks might have been able to withstand the white pressure. But time was to prove that the white frontier was advancing more swiftly than the "plan of civilization". The Anglo-American pioneer, with his hunger for land, was the ultimate victor.

Following the Revolution the middle and northern part of Georgia was rapidly filled by pioneer farmers from the Carolinas and planters from Virginia in search of new tobacco lands.[10] In 1800 the Georgia counties bordering on Creek lands had a population of some 55,000. Ten years later the same area contained 69,000 people, and there were 6,700 settled on lands recently acquired from the Indians.[11] The onward sweep of settlement forced the Creeks to give up their lands bit by bit. In 1790 the federal government secured a parcel of land for Georgia. In 1802 Georgia agreed to relinquish to the United States her claims to the territory between the Chattahoochee and the Mississippi Rivers in return for the federal government's

undertaking to extinguish, by peaceable methods, the Indian titles to the lands remaining to Georgia. In pursuance of this agreement, treaties were made with the Creek Nation in 1802 and 1805 by which more land was obtained for Georgia. In general these Creek cessions satisfied the state's immediate demands. The Creeks were given a decade's respite from further importunities.[12]

The Georgia frontier was not the only one where the white man pressed in upon the Creek. Settlements had long existed around Mobile, both in Spanish and in United States territory. The Creek Treaty of 1805 provided that a horse path should be cut from Georgia to the Mobile settlements. Immigrants from the eastern states began flocking toward the Mobile, with the result that the settlements increased in population from 1,250 in 1800 to 4,300 in 1810. The next year the path was made into a wagon road and the volume of west-bound traffic swelled greatly. In 1810 four thousand people from Tennessee were to

be found near Huntsville, Mississippi Territory.[13] On all borders of the Creek Nation—eastern, southwestern, and northwestern there were 85,487 white and black representatives of Anglo-American civilization. Against this number the Creeks could show only some 17,500, or at most, 20,000.[14]

The Treaty of New York and subsequent treaties between the Creeks and the United States provided that the latter should introduce domestic animals and implements of civilization among the Indians with a view to making them farmers instead of hunters.[3] In 1796 Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina was sent as agent to the southern Indians, one of his main objects being to carry out this provision of the treaty. The long association of the Creeks with white men had already given them more than a taste of European culture. They were in the habit of using cloth, arms, ammunition and other articles of civilized manufacture. McGillivray and other mixed-breeds, and white traders living within the nation, had owned plantations cultivated in the white manner with negro slave labor. Hawkins supplemented these gains by many more innovations.

shown by the Anglo-Americans. Because of transportation difficulties, the government factories among the southern Indians usually lost money.[5]

The passing of dictator McGillivray having removed the strongest centralizing force in the Creek Confederacy, Hawkins attempted to supply the deficiency. The plan adopted by the chiefs at his suggestion called for an annual council made up of representatives of each of the Creek towns. Certain national officials were elected by this council, foreign relations and matters of importance to the whole nation were attended to, and the advice and suggestions of the United States agent received. The council had certain judicial powers, but the agent appointed a special court to try cases involving white men.[7] It was evidently the intention of Hawkins to knit the Creek Confederacy into a homogeneous unit composed of nearly equal towns, but the old

Agriculture did not progress so rapidly as stock raising. Corn and vegetables were perhaps the most important crops; and there were a few orchards of peach trees. Small quantities of cotton were raised. The Indians had been living close together in towns, but the land around these becoming exhausted by the primitive methods of agriculture, Hawkins encouraged the Creeks to settle in villages on new land. If Hawkins' statement is not an exaggeration, nine-tenths of the Lower Creeks had left the old towns and settled on new land by 1812. Hawkins also encouraged the use of the plow.

Domestic manufacture was encouraged by giving spinning wheels, cotton cards, looms, etc., to the women of the nation, and employing a white woman to teach them to spin and weave.[4] There were two blacksmith shops set up, one for the Upper and the other for the Lower Creeks. They did repair work and made articles of husbandry for the Indians.[5]

It was realized that to gain the Indian's friendship was to dominate his trade. To this end the United States government engaged directly in the Indian trade. "Factorys" were established for the Creeks at Fort Hawkins on the Oakmulgee River and at St. Stephens, near Mobile, in an attempt to break the former Scotch-Spanish monopoly. That the United States was able to do this was due more to the Spanish loss of influence through the death of McGillivray than to any great aptitude

division into Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks continued, Tuckaubatchee being the dominant town of the former and Coweta of the latter. In spite of this, the reforms of Hawkins tended to make Creek government more systematic and stable than it had formerly been.[8]

It is no wonder that the leaders of the Creeks were greatly concerned for the preservation of their homeland. They protested many times to the representatives of the United States against encroachments by the white people. The headmen of the towns near the Georgia frontier complained that the whites corrupted the morals of their young people.[15] Americans were accused of hunting in the nation without permission, and of allowing their cattle to eat the food of the bear, thus destroying the Indians' principal means of subsistence. When cattle belonging to whites were allowed to stray into the nation and became lost the Creeks were accused of stealing them. Wood was cut on Indian land, and streams in the nation were stopped by fish traps set by settlers. The complaint was made that white people cleared and cultivated on land belonging to the Creeks and the United States government was warned that unless it removed these people the Creeks would claim the improvements as their own. While the chiefs complained the less responsible members of the nation sometimes took more direct action. There were killings and maraudings by both Americans and Indians throughout the years before 1812.[16]

British and Spanish Influence

People of the American frontier had one pet theory as to the cause of Creek discontent; namely, Great Britain had stirred it up. Spain was designated as co-villain in the plot. These Americans would have, been put to considerable pains had they attempted to prove the existence of any deeply-laid plans by either power. It was always the policy of both nations to cultivate friendly trade relations with the Indians. The red men

needed no encouragement to hate the United States, for they had had enough abuse at the hands of that power. Consequently, when the Indians decided to take the war path they would naturally seek aid from their professed friends, the English in Canada or the Spanish in Florida.

Before the War of 1812 high Canadian officials realized that hostilities between the United States and the Indians would at best only expose themselves to American suspicions, while it might even involve Great Britain in the war. For this reason they made some attempts to discourage the northwestern Indians from attacking the American frontier.[17]

Supposedly the same policy would apply to the southern tribes. Despite the gestures of the Canadian government, the Shawnees from the Great Lakes region led the Creeks to expect that they could receive aid from England in a war against the Americans. Moreover, the previous long connection between the Creeks and the English no doubt caused the Indians to anticipate help from that quarter.

With a few exceptions the same general statement would apply to Spain. She had ample reason to be suspicious of the Anglo-Americans, for these "inquiet neighbors" were already attempting to crowd her into the Gulf of Mexico. The Creeks realized this. The attachment between Creek and Spaniard was of even more recent date than that between Creek and Briton; hence, when the Red Stick War broke out the anti-

American partizans among the Indians asked Spain to join them. The Florida officials, especially in the earlier period now under consideration, had to content themselves with giving the Creeks the usual presents and with offering them moral support against the United States.[18]

The important point in regard to foreign support was this the expectation of English or Spanish assistance gave the Creek party hostile to the United States as much confidence as if that

assistance had actually been received.[19] Very little tangible help was received from Spain, and none from England, until late in the war.

The Red Stick War marked the rend of the Creek country proper as a "debatable land". Surrounded on all sides by lands of the United States, their military power broken, the Muskogees were no longer in a position to bargain for their independence. Being now subject to the whims of the Americans, the Creeks found that it was only a question of time until they would be driven from their remaining territory also. For this

reason the Red Stick War is of interest to students of Oklahoma history. The war was the first definite step toward the removal of the Creeks to the Indian Territory.[97]

On the other hand, the fugitive Creeks who had gone to the Floridas were able to maintain those provinces as a "debatable land" for some years to come. These Indians and their Seminole kinsmen kept alive the spark of hostility to the United States, a spark that was fanned into flame by white intrigue. The war had revived attempts, begun under Bowles, of Bahama merchants to "muscle in" on the Creek-Seminole trade. Some officers who had accompanied Nicholls, and who later returned to intrigue and trade with the Indians, were citizens of the Bahamas. Their activities not only led to the Seminole War of 1817-1818, but they embarrassed the relations of Great Britain, Spain and the United States until the final transfer of Florida to the latter power.[98] Thus, the Red Stick War contained within itself the germs of later alarms and excursions.

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CHIEF PLEASANT PORTER

by John Bartlett Meserve.

The initial years of adjustment by the Creek Indians in their new homes in the Indian Territory, were interrupted by difficulties with adjoining tribes and by domestic troubles. The cleavage between the Upper and Lower Creeks constituted a source of many painful experiences. Reckless leadership, at times, inflamed to animosity and passion, a people to whom war was a reasonable and logical affair.

As the years passed, the Creeks became reconciled to their new environments and wholeheartedly and under capable leadership began to work out their own destiny. Progress in social, educational and political affairs was very rapid. The leaders of the two factions, in 1860, united in the draft of the first written constitution under which a Principal Chief was elected by the members of the tribe. The Civil War again rent the tribe and little or no responsible government existed in the Creek Nation until the war was concluded. A new and more serviceable constitution was framed by the progressive leaders in 1867 and under this instrument, the political affairs of the reunited tribe were administered until the United States Government assumed active control of all functions of government. The Creek constituion of 1867 may be said to be the initial gesture by the tribe toward intelligent, responsible government. From that time forward, it became a matter of capable, honest and unselfish administration. Fortunate indeed was the nation to possess at this particular time, the leadership of honest, capable and intelligent men.

During this era of transition in the social and political life of the Creek Nation, no name stands out with finer luster than that of Pleasant Porter, Principal Chief of the nation from the year 1899 until his death in 1907. Safe, conservative and trusted in counsel, unremitting in fidelity to the best concerns of his tribe, dignified and courteous in association with men, he enjoyed the well merited supreme confidence of the members of his race and the public officials of the United States Government from the President down to its humblest official connected with the Indian service.

Pleasant Porter was a member of the bird clan and early in life received the somewhat euphoneous Indian name of Talof Harjo a name which means Crazy Bear. The enrolling officers placed number 6220 opposite his name on the approved rolls of the Creek tribe. He spent five years in the Presbyterian Mission School at Tullahassee, receiving there a common school education which was to be the foundation upon which his own habit of home study built a finished structure of learning. After leaving school, he clerked in a store for a brief period and in 1860, together with Sam Brown, drove cattle in New Mexico During his absence in New Mexico, war between the states was brewing and, learning of impending hostilities, he hastened home and on August 19, at the Creek Agency, enlisted as a private in the Confederate Army in Company A of the First Creek regiment under command of Col. D. N. McIntosh. This regiment was attacked to the brigade commanded by Col. Douglas H. Cooper.

Colonel Cooper, having the Indian regiments with him, fought Opothleyahola on November 19, 1861 at Round Mountain near the mouth of the Cimarron and again on November 29th on Bird Creek. north of Tulsa and finally routed him and his forces at Chustenahleh on December 26th, driving him across the line into Kansas. Cooper had his Indian regiments with him again at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, on March 7-8, 1862, when the confederates were defeated. Cooper was again defeated at Honey Springs near Oktaha on July 17, 1863, after which the Indian regiments fled to the Red River country and finally surrendered on June 23, 1865.

Records disclose that Pleasant Porter held the rank of Quartermaster Sergeant. He was wounded three times, once in the thigh which caused him ever to limp slightly, and twice in the head. His record as a soldier was one of unflinching courage. Upon the conclusion of his military service, Young Porter returned to the Clarksville plantation and resumed his farming operations. He was now without means, the plantation slaves had been freed, the ravages of war had denuded the farm of its stock and the improvements were devastated. He set bravely to work rebuilding the log cabin and splitting rails in the nearby forests with which to fence the farm which he plowed and tilled. Upon his young shoulders rested the responsibility of caring for his widowed mother and sisters and brother. His labors were interrupted in September 1865 when he accompanied the Creek Indian commissioners, as a guard, to Ft. Smith, Ark., when they went to meet the envoys of the United States to open negotiations for terms of peace. These initial parleys culminated in the peace treaty at Washington in the spring of 1866. The shadow years during and succeeding the Civil War had almost completely demoralized the schools in the Creek country. The farm life of young Porter was again stayed when he was called upon to assume charge as Superintendent of the school affair's of the nation. To this task, he gave his first public effort and the zealous, clearsighted service which he rendered, characterized his long life of public service to his people. He reorganized the schools of the nation in 1871, was reelected to the task in 1872 but declined the reelection.

Early in life Pleasant Porter exhibited a remarkable capacity for business and became prosperous. He ran a store at Hillabee for a brief time, afterward establishing a general store at Okmulgee which he sold out in 1869. He soon thereafter removed from Okmulgee to Wealaka where he built a home and where he continued to reside until 1889, when he again removed to Muskogee which remained his home until his death.

Gen. Porter was before the electorate as a candidate for Principal Chief of the tribe at the election held September 3, 1895, but was defeated by Isparhecher his ancient foe of the days of the Green Peach War. Isparhecher died December 22, 1902.

The fourth and last insurrection against the organized government of the Creeks occurred in the spring of 1901 and is known as the Crazy Snake Uprising. Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake) was a typical representative of an expiring race of full blood Indians. In October, 1900, he and his full blood adherents instituted a government of their own with Hickory Ground as their capital. Little significance was attached to this action at its inception but as the movement gathered strength among a class of Indians who were opposing allotment, Chief Porter, on November 2, 1900, appealed to the United States Government for protection against the "snake" Indians. In response to this appeal, a troop of United States Cavalry arrived from Ft. Reno in January, 1901, and the leaders of the movement were placed under arrest. Several of them including Crazy Snake were indicted in the United States court for seditious conspiracy, to which, pleas of guilty were made. After an extended lecture from the judge, John R. Thomas, the passing of sentence was deferred during good behavior and the culprits sent home.

His dream in that behalf was approaching realization. When death closed the eventful service of General Pleasant Porter at Vinita, on September 3, 1907, statehood for his people stood at the threshold.[6] He rests in the old family burying

[6]On September 2, 1907, Gen. Porter accompanied by Judge John R. Thomas and M. L. Mott, Creek National Attorney, left Muskogee for Missouri, to attend to some matters of litigation connected with tribal affairs. The party arrived at Vinita in the evening where a change of trains was to be effected and, during the interim, rooms were taken at the Cobb Hotel. Early in the evening, feeling somewhat indisposed, the General with Mr. Mott, retired to his room. He suffered a stroke shortly thereafter, lapsed into unconsciousness and passed away on the morning of Septmeber 3. Realizing the approach of death, he said to those about him, "I'm not afraid to die." These were his parting words before he passed into a state of coma from which he never recovered.

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THE PERRYMANS

By John Bartlett Meserve

The assassination of Chief William McIntosh of the Lower Creeks at his plantation home on the Chattahoochee river near the present town of Carrollton, Carroll County, Georgia in April 1825 provoked the withdrawal, shortly thereafter, of many of his adherents from Georgia and Alabama to the old Indian Territory.[1] Chilli McIntosh, the eldest son of the ill-fated Chieftain led an initial contingent of these people to the West arriving at Three Forks, a short distance north of the present city of Muskogee, in February 1828. Among this emigrating party were members of the Perryman, Winslett and Porter families who were to contribute to the eventful history of the Creeks in the West.

Benjamin Perryman (Steek-cha-ko-me-co) had been a tribal town chief of some prominence among the Creeks back in Alabama and was a pronounced adherent of the McIntosh faction in Creek tribal affairs. He is noted as a signer of the Treaty of February 24, 1833[2] at Ft. Gibson with the Government and, with Roley McIntosh, represented the Creeks at an intertribal conference with the western tribes which opened at Ft. Gibson on September 2, 1834 and in these proceedings took an engaging part.[3]

The celebrated painting of Benjamin Perryman was made at Ft. Gibson in 1836 by George Catlin, the noted painter of Indian pictures and of Benjamin and Samuel Perryman, the famous artist said, "These two men are * * * fair specimens of the tribe, whc

> are mostly all clad in calicoes and other clothes of civilized manufacture, tasseled and fringed off by themselves in the most fantastic way and sometimes with much true and fantastic taste. They use a vast many beads and other trinkets to hang upon their necks and ornament their moccasins and beautiful belts." Through these descriptive words descendants of the emigrant Creeks of a century ago may glimpse an interesting portrayal of their semi-primitive ancestry.

Benjamin Perryman was accompanied by his six sons and two daughters to the West where they settled initially along the lower Verdigris and the north bank of the Arkansas and in an area to become known as Choska Bottoms in what is today Wagoner County, Oklahoma. The region was of broad expanse where the prairies dissolved in the shimmering distance to the west. Wild tribes had wandered along the Arkansas for many years ere the Creeks came. Drifting clouds threw evanescent figures across the undulating plains and the Indian raising his eyes above the earthen walls about him, found spiritual release above them in the reaches of the blue where, in his fancy, the Great Spirit walked. An indulgent nature met the emotional needs of his cloistered life. These primitive scenes are lost today in a maze of cultivated farms. The eight children of Benjamin Perryman left a lasting impress upon the Creeks.

(1) Samuel Perryman (Thenahta Tustenugga) served in the Creek War of 1813-14 under General Jackson and after his removal to the West joined Epley, and Chilli McIntosh in an address to President Jackson asking for relief against the depredations of the wild tribes which infested their border. He was the father of William and Noble Perryman and is reputed to have lived to an advanced age and died at Coweta in 1880. (2) Columbus Perryman (Yahola Harjo) died at Coweta in 1877. (3) Moses Perryman (Aktayahehe) was the father of Joseph Moses Perryman who became a chief of the Creek Nation. He died at Choska in 1866.

(4) James Perryman (Pahos Harjo) for the last thirty years of his life was a Baptist minister.[4] He attended school at the old Union Mission and between 1830 and 1835 was Creek interpreter for the Rev. John Fleming at which time he was a Presbyterian. He aided in translating two of the first books in the Creek language. In the latter years of his life, he assisted Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson in translating Ephesians, Titus, James and two-thirds of the Book of Acts, into the Creek tongue. In the old Creek hymn book, thirty-two of the hymns are his work either in composition or translation. He served in the Confederate army in the Civil War and died at Coweta about 1882. (5) Lewis Perryman (Kochukua Micco) was the father of Legus C. Perryman an erstwhile

chieftain of the Creeks. (6) Henry Perryman (Efold Harjo) died at Choska in 1876. (7) Lydia Perryman married Tah-lo-pee Tust-a-nuk-kee, a town chief and became the mother of Phoebe. Phoebe married Benjamin Edward Porter and became the mother of Pleasant Porter,[5] the last elected chieftain of the Creeks. Phoebe died at Wealaka, on June 6, 1883. (8) Mary Perryman married James McKellop, a Scotchman. Her daughter Nancy McKellop married Nathaniel Hodge and became the mother of David M. and Alvin T. Hodge both of whom became men of prominence among the Creeks. Susan, another daughter of Mary McKellop nee Perryman married John Denton, a Cherokee and became the mother of Lilah D. Lindsey, who is today (1937) one of the outstanding women in the State.

Moses Perryman, a son of Benjamin Perryman was the father of Joseph Moses Perryman[6] who was born at Choska in 1833. This son attended school at Coweta Mission until 1853 after which he entered Tullahassee and began his studies for the Presbyterian
ministry. He pursued these studies for three years and was licensed to preach in 1860. He enlisted in the Confederate army on August 9, 1861 in Company H. First Creek Regiment of Mounted Volunteers of which company Capt. Washington Kennard was captain in the regiment of Col. D. N. McIntosh. He later served as major sergeant and as a first lieutenant of this company. His name last appears on the muster roll of his company on December 1, 1862 although he appears to have joined with other officers of the 1st and 2nd Creek regiments in a petition to President Jefferson Davis, from Camp Stonewall, on May 18, 1863. He remained at Stonewall until the conclusion of the war and was formerly ordained for the Presbyterian ministry at Wapanucka, Chickasaw Nation, shortly thereafter. It was at that time he formed the North Fork Presbyterian Church and also assumed charge of the mission school under the South Presbyterian Synod, which position he held for four years. About 1878, he changed his church affiliations and became a member of the Baptist church and was shortly thereafter ordained to the ministry of that denomination and remained a member of this denomination until his death.

The political career of Joseph M. Perryman began with his service as a member of the Creek House of Kings from 1868 to 1874 inclusive serving as its presiding officer

during his tenure. He served as district clerk of the Eufaula district in 1878 and as clerk of the tribal supreme court in 1869. He was a member of the tribal supreme court in 1873. In 1883, he was dispatched as a delegate from the tribe to Washington and on December 5, 1879 qualified as Creek national treasurer in which position he served for four years, being succeeded by Sam Brown.

In the fall of 1883, Joseph M. Perryman became the candidate of the Muskogee party for Principal Chief, being opposed by Isparhecher of the Loyal party and Samuel Checote of the Pin party. The race settled down to a spirited contest between Perryman and Isparhecher although Checote gained enough votes to provoke an embarrassing situation. The Green Peach War, inspired and led by Isparhecher, had ended but a few months before the election, but lingered as an issue in the campaign. The result of the election held on September 3, 1883 was very close and remained long in doubt. A declaration of the canvass involved the determination of two rather delicate constitutional questions. The election being held upon a date slightly different than that provided by the Creek constitution, provoked much dispute but faded in its significance as efforts were made to adjust the situation to another requirement of the Creek constitution. This basic document provided in Article II, Section I, that "the Principal Chief of the Muskogee Nation shall be elected for a term of four years, by a *majority* of the votes * * *." Three active candidates had sought preference in the campaign and as a result none of the three aspirants received a majority of the votes cast. Perryman had a plurality over his opponents but lacked a majority over the combined votes of both of them. An effort was made to placate Isparhecher by sending him to Washington as a delegate, in January 1884 but from that city on February 26, 1884, he wrote Perryman, urging that no choice had been made and suggesting that a new election be called and their candidacies be resubmitted to the electorate of the Nation. Perryman was sworn in as chief and the entire dispute was referred to Secretary of the Interior Teller, who on February 27, 1884, in writing, expressed himself "that the words 'majority' and 'plurality' are synonymous ones as understood and used by the Muskogee people." He directed the Indian agent to recognize Perryman as chief of the tribe. Joseph M. Perryman served his people most faithfully as their chief for the four years' term and became a rather inactive candidate for reelection in 1887 but was defeated by his cousin, Legus C. Perryman. Isparhecher was again a candidate but made a meager showing.

In the story of the Perrymans, we glimpse a rather complete cross section of Creek Indian life in the old Territory during the concluding fifty years of their tribal existence. Through various members of the family, influential positions were occupied in the spiritual, political and economic life of these people. In their religious' inspirations, we may discern the patient, self-sacrificing labors of Rev. W. S. Robertson and his most estimable wife, and through them, the influence of the great Cherokee Messenger, Dr. Samuel Austin Worcester may be observed. That influence, having its inception at the old Tullahassee Presbyterian Mission in the decade before the Civil War, still abides through living members of the family. The old Mission is today a ghost town and lingers only through its yesterdays.[22] The church was the great social center during that period as it also was in the recoupment days from the spiritual wreckage following the Civil War.[23] Members of the family were potent in their influence upon the tortuous political life of the Creek Nation during its concluding decades. The Creeks responded rather slowly to the newer forms of human organization but it is of no avail to pyramid their eccentricities. In the economic affairs of the Creeks, the Perrymans occupied a high and engaging influence. The world to which they belonged has gone or is slipping away but the thoughtful student, having a proper regard for the sources of history, may not disregard the Perryman family when an approach is made to a history of the Creek

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THE DAWES COMMISSION

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The relationship between the United States and the Indian tribes within her boundaries has been a changing and developing policy since the inception of our national government in 1789. Throughout all the periods of that development, however, there have been some outstanding characteristics always evident. One of these has been the steady advance of the white settler by definite stages, varying from the advent of the first trapper into the redman's country to the establishment of industries and settled farms on the lands that were formerly his. It is not the aim of this paper to attempt to prove the justice or the injustice of such a policy, but rather to observe the effect of its development upon Oklahoma, especially as it was administered through the hands of one of the agencies created by Congress to speed it along; the Dawes Commission.

The period after the Civil War had seen a reopening of Indian hostilities that had been lulled temporarily with the removal of the tribesmen to new homes beyond the Mississippi River. The release of thousands of fighting men at the close of that gigantic struggle, the completion of new railroads into the far west, the insatiable thirst of the white men for more land, the discovery of priceless minerals in the Rockies which had been thought of as worthless, and innumerable other factors had contributed to a great migration of Americans to the virgin regions west of the Mississippi. This had reopened the old struggle for supremacy between the two races that had been going forward since the coming of the first white men to make the new hemisphere a permanent home. Campaigns against the Sioux, Cheyennes, Comanches, Pawnees, and other tribes were merely incidents in the conflict.

Constantly recurring victories led to new treaties and new laws dealing with the relations between the newly conquered tribes and the United States Senate. The importance of this movement throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century made the Committee on Indian Affairs in
that body a very important assignment. Chairmanship of that important committee in 1885 was held by Henry L. Dawes, veteran Senator from Massachusetts, the successor of Chas. Sumner.[1] In his hands lay the power of doing much to mould the Government's policy towards "Poor Lo." He had served on a special committee to investigate disturbances in the Indian Territory previous to that time, and to him has been attributed the origin of the entire system of Indian education in existence during the latter part of the century.[2]

On February 26, 1886, the Senate passed a bill which had been introduced by Dawes, December 8, 1885, that was destined to revolutionize Indian relations. This was the now famous Dawes Act, providing for the first allotment of lands to the Indians in severalty. Constant pressure was being brought to bear, particularly from the middle west to have the unallotted lands opened for white settlement. While the Senate passed it in February 1886, it was not until February 8, 1887 that final agreement was reached by both houses and the President signed it.[3] The policy of allotment was provided for in the act, but by its wording the Osages, Peorias, Miamis, Sac and Fox, and the Five Civilized Tribes, Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, were excepted from its provisions. Of all the tribes, the latter five were possibly the nearest ready for allotment and the ending of tribal government, but they did not want it, and through influences brought to bear in Congress, as well as existing treaty conditions, they were freed from the effects of the legislation. Minute details were provided in the law. Each head of a family was to receive 160 acres, with half as much to each single person over eighteen years of age and each orphan under that age, while others under eighteen were to receive 40 acres. The land could not be sold or otherwise alienated for a period of twenty-five years, with the further provision that this period might be extended by the President of the United States at his discretion. Citizenship was to be granted to the Indian upon the delivery of his patent.

As the time for actual allotment approached, it became necessary for the government to have tribal rolls upon which it could base its division of lands. In each of the five tribes rolls of the Indians by blood, adoption, and intermarriage were required, as were also Freedmen rolls. Among the Cherokees, there was an additional demand in the demand for a roll of the Delawares who were settled among the larger nation, the law having provided that the Dawes Commission should segregate 157,600 acres that had been purchased by the Delawares, from the lands of the Cherokees, before allotment should start in that nation.

The preparation of the rolls forced a new type of duty upon the federal representatives. Where, before, only additions were made to the existing rolls, they were now to be given the authority to make up entirely new enumerations, including passage upon the validity of names already enrolled, as well as new applicants for citizenship. This, added to the fact, that there were many disputed claims among the Freedmen who were seeking to be admitted to tribal citizenship, necessitated a changed policy on the part of the Commission. Where, before they had been content to deal with the leaders of each nation, going where they could easily get by rail, they now purchased tents, and went into the far corners of the nation, where they made a personal canvass of conditions, and heard disputed applications in person. This seemed to create a better spirit between them and the people with whom they were dealing. By 1898, the census of the Seminoles was reported complete and ready for allotment. Starts had also been made with the Creeks and the Chickasaws. The preliminary work toward allotment was well under way when we leave them.

Now, at the end of five years, we leave the Dawes Commission. The first phase of their work was almost complete, and they were well started on the second. Tentative agreements had been reached, and already they were started on the preliminary work of allotment. Whether the policy of the Federal Government in bring-

ing the tribal histories to an end, and placing the land available to white domination, will remain a mooted question for some time. But one thing must be admitted, the Commission delegated with the task of puting that policy into effect had started in an efficient manner, and was becoming a vital cog in the administrative unit of the federal organization.

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CHIEF OPOTHLEYAHOLA

By John Bartlett Meserve.

The social and political differences between the Upper and Lower Creeks were accentuated by the treaty of February 12, 1825[1]. This treaty was promoted by William McIntosh a chief of the Lower faction and operated to fully divest the Creeks of the remaining portion of their tribal lands in Georgia. The terms of the treaty were vigorously protested by a delegation of the Upper Creeks which attended a conference with McIntosh and his adherents at Indians Springs, Georgia early in February 1825, which delegation of Upper Creeks was led by Opothleyahola, a young orator of that faction and who was then speaker of the Upper Creek Council. The youthful leader became dramatic as he challenged the power of the Lower Creek chiefs to cede any portion of the tribal domain without the consent of the entire Nation, concluding his protest with words of solemn warning to McIntosh, should he sign the treaty. McIntosh signed the treaty, however, as did also a number of the Lower town chiefs under his domination, although it was repudiated and unsigned by a majority of the Indian representatives. McIntosh was subsequently tried before the Creek Council under the Creek law of 1824 and sentenced to be shot, the order for his execution being given by Little Prince, Principal Chief of the Confederacy. The death penalty was exacted on May 1, 1825 by a chosen company of one hundred Upper Creeks led by Menewa.

The young Opothleyahola closed his stirring address to the commissioners at Indian Springs, in language which left little doubt as to the attitude of the Indians toward a further disposition of their lands although the suggestion of another meeting was made,

"We met you at the Broken Arrow and then told you we had no land to sell. I heard then of no claim against our Nation, nor have I heard of any since. We have met you here upon a very short notice and I do not think the chiefs present have any authority to treat. Gen. McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws and that what is not done in public council is not binding. Can the council be public if all the chiefs have not had notice and many of them are absent? I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating what I told you at the Broken Arrow, that we have no lands to sell.

No part of our lands can be sold except in full council and by consent of the whole Nation. There is not a full council; there are but a few here from the Upper towns and of the chiefs of the Lower towns, many are absent. From what you told us yesterday, I am inclined to think it would be best for us to remove; but we must have time to think of it and to consult our people. Should the chiefs now here undertake to sell our country, it would cause dissention and ill blood among ourselves, for there are many who do not know that we have been invited here for that purpose and many who would not consent to it, if they were here. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the commissioners have to say—to meet and part with them in peace—but not to sell any land. I am also instructed to invite you to meet us at the Broken Arrow three months hence, where a treaty may be finally made. I gave you but one speech at the Broken Arrow and I give you but one here. Tomorrow, I return home. I have delivered the message of my head chief and have no more to say. I shall listen to whatever you may think proper to communicate but shall make no further answer."

Then turning toward McIntosh, the ill fated chief, with an eye full of meaning, he extended his arm toward him and in a low, bitter tone of prophetic menace, added, "I have told you, your fate if you sign that paper. I once more say, beware."

The young orator, Opothleyahola (Hu-pui-hilth Yahola) was born in the Creek Nation about the year 1798 and is believed to have fought with Chief Weatherford, against the whites in the Creek War of 1813-14 and seen service at Horseshoe Bend when the recalcitrant Creek tribes were all but extinguished by General Jackson. He lived at Tuckabatchee town, where lived Big Warrior, chief of the Upper Creeks and where the council house was situated. He became principal counsellor or speaker of the Upper Creek council and exercised much influence over their deliberations.

Under the treaty of January 24, 1826,[2] the Lower Creeks or McIntosh faction removed to the lands west of the Mississippi and thus passed out of the picture in so far as further controversies between the Government and the Creeks in Alabama, were concerned. The first contingent of the Lower Creeks arrived in February 1828 and subsequent arrivals in November of the same year. They settled along the banks of the Arkansas River with headquarters near the mouth of the Verdigris River. Their removal was voluntary.

The signing of the treaty of February 12, 1825, inspired the journey of Opothleyahola and John Stidham to Washington, to protest against the terms of the treaty and to insist upon the removal of white intruders who were invading the Creek lands. This visit was made in January 1826 and resulted in the signing of the treaty of January 24, 1826, by Opothleyahola and others representing the Creek tribes. The Creek representatives declined to enter into negotiations with the Government until the terms of the treaty of February 12, 1825, were abrogated. The new treaty divested the Creeks of all of their lands in Georgia but through a technical error, a strip of land was not included although it lay within the limits of Georgia. Opothleyahola bowed to the inevitable and signed this treaty but later stood out for the claim to this strip of land for his people. This controversy provoked the treaty of November

Opothleyahola did not adopt the dress of the white man. His form was draped in a blanket which hung gracefully as the toga of a Roman senator. A bright colored shawl encircled his head like a turban. He was a man of large and imposing frame. Although the members of his tribe recognized poligamy, Opothleyahola seems to have had but one wife. He had, at least two daughters and one son. The son graduated from the Choctaw academy in Kentucky, and took the name of Richard M. Johnson. The chief was unlettered and could speak only in the Creek tongue. The only likeness of the old chieftain, now known, is the oil painting of him in Washington, made, perhaps about 1832 and which now adorns the gallery of the War Department at the capital. Copies of this celebrated painting are frequently seen.[10] The old chief was quite prosperous and at the outbreak of the Civil War, was considered to be the richest member of the Creek tribes. His estate consisted of herds and flocks which were entirely dissipated by the campaign into Kansas and the ravages of the war.

Opothleyahola enjoyed an uninterrupted leadership of the Upper Creeks for 40 years. No man in their history so touched the hearts of his people. In him, they saw a reflection of themselves. They knew he sympathized with their sorrows and understood their aspirations. He surpassed all others in those attributes which the Indians felt common to them all. He possessed an unsurpassed power to express himself to there in terms which they understood. Undoubtedly, he was the outstanding Creek leader of the full blood, after the days of the Creek War. Opothleyahola was wholly in sympathy with the full blood Indian, who he believed, should be permitted to enjoy his social and political life according to his own notion. He was, in every instinct, a natural communist. This fact shared alike by his people, carried with it the necessary implication of the incapacity of the Indian as an individual. to compete in the white man's socal and economic order. Group life was the unit of his political thought and understanding. No situation arose in hs lifetime to challenge him to recede from the communal ownership of the tribal lands. He was never disturbed by the question of the allotment of the lands in severalty and just what would have been his attitude later, cannot be ascertained. He was progressive enough to favor the education of his people and encouraged them in the productive arts and in thrift. He might have accepted the allotment scheme as a logical consequence and favored it.

15, 1827,[3] in which all of the lands of the Creeks in Georgia were surrendered. Georgia being now satisfied, the State of Alabama began to irritate the Creeks and insist upon their removal from the state. The Creek representatives were cajoled and urged into the signing of the treaty at Washington on March 24, 1832,[4] by the terms of which the tribe relinquished all of its lands east of the Mississippi River for lands in the west. Opothleyahola most reluctantly signed this treaty. The brave Indian leader was in vigorous opposition to the removal of his people from their ancient lands in the East. He was apprehensive for them and feared a renewal of contact with the McIntosh faction which was already in the West. The terms of the treaty of 1832 gave the Creeks five years to abdicate their homes in Alabama and to reestablish themselves between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers in the West. It was during the negotiations of this treaty that Gen. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, in a message to the Creeks in January 1832, promised them lands in the West, to be theirs "as long as the grass grows and the rivers run." This phrase thus coined, became a slogan of challenge against a further invasion of their tribal domain, in future years.

In 1836 some of the Creek towns in Alabama prepared to join the insurgent Seminoles. Opothleyahola marched at the head of his Tuckabatchee warriors, captured some of the young men of a neighboring village who had donned the war paint to start a revolt and delivered them to the military authorities to expiate the crimes they had committed against travelers and settlers. After holding a council of warriors, he led 1500 of them against the rebellious towns, receiving a commission as colonel and when the regular troops with their Indian allies appeared at Hatchechubbee, the hostiles surrendered. The United States authorities then took advantage of the Creek warriors to begin the enforced emigration of the tribe to the west. Under a strict military convoy, the first contingent of the reluctant Creeks were forcibly removed to the west in 1836, ninety of their town chiefs being chained in pairs during the journey. In the following year, Opothleyahola led some 8,000 of his people from their ancient homes in Alabama to lands north of the Canadian river. He was now chief of the Upper Creeks and most highly revered and respected by them.

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CHIEF SAMUEL CHECOTE, WITH SKETCHES OF CHIEFS LOCHER HARJO AND WARD COACHMAN.

By
John Bartlett Meserve.

Roley McIntosh concluded his interesting career of thirty-eight years as chieftain of the Lower Creeks in 1859 and was succeeded by Moty Cannard. The next few years were blurred chapters in the political life of the Creeks. There was little semblance of organized government in the Creek Nation during the perilous years of the Civil War, occasioned largely by the internecine strife among the Indians which that conflict provoked. The Creeks became divided in their allegiance and the breaches so created were to linger through the years. A gesture toward reuniting the Upper and Lower Creek factions was made in 1860 by the adoption of a written constitution but the intervention of the war postponed its accomplishment. Out of the reconstruction efforts of the tribe came the adoption of a formal written constitution at Deep Fork, on October 12, 1867. Samuel Checote was chosen as the first elected chieftain of the Creek Nation and to him was committed the task of composing the discordant elements.

Samuel Checote, born in the Chattahoochee valley in Alabama in 1819, came with his parents to the old Indian Territory in 1829. He was a full blood Creek Indian, of the Lower Creek or McIntosh faction. His parents settled west of Okmulgee but passed away within a few years after their removal. At the age of nine years, he was sent to the Asbury Manual Labor School near Ft. Mitchel, Alabama, and after the removal, he attended Harrell's academy at Muskogee. Early in life, he became a member of the Methodist Church and later entered the ministry of that denomination. He is a concrete evidence of how completely the missionary altered the life of the American Indian. The Lower Creek Council manifested a hostility toward the missionaries in 1835, by ordering them out of the country. The places of worship were closed save where supplied by native ministers, but within the next few years these self-sacrificing Christian mentors began to return to the Creek country and resume their labors among the Indians. The Council again in 1844 expressed itself by prohibiting the native ministers from preaching the Christian religion, under a penalty of fifty lashes, and, as a consequence, several were whipped under the provisions of this law. Samuel Checote, who had done some preaching at that time, with other tribal members so engaged, fled from the Creek country to escape persecution. The young minister appealed directly in person, to Chief Roley McIntosh for an abatement of the persecution and as a result, through his efforts, all further attempts to interfere with the teaching of the Gospel were abandoned, by orders of the chief. The ministerial activities of Samuel Checote date back to October 28, 1852, and continued intermittently until his death, save as suspended during his service in the Civil War and during his political career. His religious endeavors became the absorbing interest of his life and his high religious character is reflected in his political life. He was chosen as a delegate by the Methodist church to the Ecumenical Conference at

Samuel Checote entered the Confederate service as captain of Company B of the First Regiment of Creek Mounted Volunteers, on August 13, 1861, at the Creek agency.[2] On August 19, 1861, he became Lieut. Colonel of this regiment which was attached to the division commanded by Col. D. N. McIntosh. The army service of Col. Checote was of the highest and most efficient character and quite unlike many other enlisted members of his tribe, he remained faithful to the cause of the Confederacy until the close of the war. The Civil War may be termed an age of heroics in American history and the thoughtful student
will pause in homage to the stout hearts, both North and South who braved death in the courage of their convictions. Samuel Checote, a Creek Indian of intelligence and fully capable of resolving his alignment during that struggle, evidenced his courage in a most abiding manner.

The long enduring cleavage created by the tribal division into the Upper and Lower Creeks, was augmented by the line up of its members during the Civil War. The Upper Creeks, composed mostly of full bloods were allied with the Union forces, while the Lower Creeks or McIntosh faction went with the South. It was a highly disorganized Creek Nation which confronted Samuel Checote when he assumed the reins of tribal government in 1867. This trouble was provoked largely by members of the hitherto Upper Creek faction who were led by Oktars-sars-har-jo, whose adopted name was Sands. These Indians had served in the Union army and were unwilling that there should be shown to any of their erstwhile foes any preference, even though that preference was overwhelmingly expressed at a tribal popular election. An immediate difficulty grew out of the disbursement of a payment of monies made by the Government to the tribe. Sands and his followers insisted that the fund be divided equally between the Upper and Lower Creeks while the Checote administration made a per capita disbursement of the monies among the entire tribal membership, ignoring the former tribal division. Sands became an unsuccessful candidate against Checote in the fall of 1871 and, stung by his defeat, led a force of some three hundred of his adherents upon the capital at Okmulgee, in October 1871, and dissipated the Council, then in session. Gen. Pleasant Porter was placed in command of the lighthorsemen and with the assistance of Federal agents composed the insurrection without any loss of life. Sands died in the following year and the opposition to Chief Checote collapsed. The Chief was reelected in the fall of 1871.

In the fall of 1875, Ward Coachman was chosen second chief and became Principal Chief of the Creek Nation upon the impeachment and removal of Chief Locher Harjo on December 15, 1876. His tenure as chief was rather uneventful and he was defeated in his efforts for reelection on September 1, 1879, and Samuel Checote again was chosen.

The name of Ward Coachman is carried on the approved rolls of the Creek tribe opposite roll number 5109 as shown by census card number 1587 and to him was allotted his distributive share of the public domain. The chief passed away at his home some four miles northeast of Wetumka on March 13, 1900, where he was buried in an unmarked grave. He married Lizzie Carr in 1851 and after her death, married Lizzie Yohler in 1864. The chief was a man of intelligence far above the average of his people and enjoyed the respect and esteem of the members of the Creek tribe.

The interesting Samuel Checote again resumed the executive office of the Creek Nation after the election of September 1, 1879. This was his third term, the completion of which covered a period of twelve years. His preference for the third term was rather feebly expressed as his election was evidenced by a bare majority of 15 votes.

Charges of fraud were made by the Coachman adherents but no trouble ensued. The third tenure of Samuel Checote featured much advancement among the Creeks. The establishment of an Indian University at Muskogee by the Baptist Mission led by Rev. A. C. Bacone was approved and financial assistance provided. Matters of general education received the marked attention of the chief. The grant of lands to the Seminoles was effected for which the sum of $150,000 was received.

Internal strife threatened the peace of the Creeks in December, 1881, when recalcitrant members of the tribe led by Isparhecher, a full blood agitator, undertook to establish an independent government with its capital established at Nuyaka, some twelve miles west of Okmulgee. Chief Checote exhausted all peaceful and persuasive measures to calm the disturbance, but with no avail. Bloody reprisals ensued in a struggle known as the Green Peach War. The armed forces of the Checote government were finally called into service under command of Gen. Pleasant Porter and after several months of open defiance, the insurrection was quelled. Peaceful relations were restored through the efforts of United States Commissioners at Muskogee in August, 1883.[6] The address of Chief Checote at Muskogee, on August 10, 1883, approving the settlement, was of statesmanlike character.

At the tribal election of September 3, 1883, Chief Checote again sought preference, but was defeated and Joseph M. Perryman was elected. He was dispatched as a delegate from the tribe to Washington the following year and this service concluded his political career. The years had been strenuous. His guiding hand had directed the political life of the Creek Nation from the concluding years of the Civil War. He passed away at his home at Okmulgee, on September 3, 1884, where he lies buried and where his grave is marked.

The chief was married twice, his first wife being Priscilla, after whose death he married Lizzie; the last names of these women are not known.

Samuel Checote was the outstanding character among the Creek Indians during the early post bellum years. His years of understanding threaded back to the early day of their residence in the West. When the Indian left the East, he was an unfinished sketch. In his initial days after removal as well as in later years, the Indian naturally had his class differences, provoked largely by his contact and intermarriage with the whites. These distinctions caused divergent concepts of his ultimate destiny and were provocative of internal dissension. These class distinctions must be considered in any appraisal of his social or political life because the Indian cannot be labeled and disposed of in one gesture. Among the Creeks, this natural situation was intensely aggravated by the tribal division having its inception in the East and long before the removal period. The Civil War was a zero point in the morale of the Creeks. The task of uniting the sentiments and aspirations of the Creeks was placed upon the shoulders of Samuel Checote. He understood these people as did no other Creek leader of his times and to him great credit is due for placating many of the major tribal animosities of that period. His stern, spiritual life contributed to his influence among his people. Chief Samuel Checote gave to the Creeks a splendid service and died in poverty.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CREEK INDIANS

Ohland Morton

EARLIEST FORMS

The clan system has played a very important rôle in the history of the Creek Indians. It was the unit of social as well as political organization. In the beginning years of the Creek Confederacy there was a remarkably large number of these clans but by the beginning of the twentieth century it seems that there were only about twenty in existence.[2] Many of them had become extinct through the process of absorption and others ceased to exist as a result of the casualties of the early wars.

A number of clans with their constituent families would unite to form a village, in which they lived under a chief or "miko."[3] The miko was elected for life from a certain clan, usually the largest in the village from the standpoint of numbers. Preferably, he was the next of kin, on the maternal side, of the miko just deceased. The Creek woman held a peculiar station; since descent was always in the female line. If for any reason, such as old age or illness, the miko became incapacitated he chose a coadjutor, who was subject to the village council.[4]

The village council was composed of the leading representatives of each clan in the village. Each clan was represented according to its population, but the proportion of representation varied with the village. This council exercised great power, but mainly by moral influence or persuasion. The lack of a real executive body is typical of Indian government everywhere during the early years of the history of our country.[1] However, the conservatism of this council is evidenced by the fact that there are few if any instances of insubordination. Every man felt himself bound by the action of his own representative. All of which goes to show the importance of the kinship group or clan as a fundamental factor in the political organization of the Creeks.[2]

"Among the Creeks, in spite of strict maternal inheritance, the Individual position of the woman was insubordinate. She was not allowed to participate, except in a most modest manner, in the busk, nor was she permitted to be present at the councils. Her occupations were, in general the household duties assigned to her sex among all Indian tribes." Livingston errand, Basis of American History, p. 172.

The grandmother was recognized by the United States as the head of the family. House Document Vol. 116, No. 538, 56th Cong. 2d Sess. 1900-1901, sec. 3716, p. 581

The warlike spirit for which the Creeks were noted was naturally fostered by their position among hostile and powerful neighbors such as the Catawba, Iroquois, Shawnee, and Cherokee. It was this warlike spirit which brought into prominence and favor the warrior class. As an incentive to the young men of the tribe, there was instituted early in the history of the Creeks a series of war titles. The overwhelming passion of the youthful "brave" was to gain one or more of these titles by prowess in the field. In order to become a warrior, every young man had to pass through a period of severe training and initiation which lasted from four to eight months and upon its completion he was eligible for service in the field and possible advancement to the higher titles.[3] There were three of these titles above the rank of warrior. They were "leader," "upper leader," and "great warrior." All of these titles were granted by the miko and the councillors of the village in recognition of distinguished services on the warpath. There may have been several "leaders" and "upper leaders" in the village, but the title of "great warrior" was given to only one man in the village at a time and, was held until the miko and councillors saw fit to pass it on to another who had gained distinction. The height of every young man's ambition was to achieve this office.[4]

There was between the councillors and the common people an intermediate privileged class of men whose duties were mostly administrative. They acted as an advisory group and also were charged with the responsibility of the preparation and carrying out of the elaborate ceremonials of the tribe. An interesting fact regarding the authority of this intermediate or civil council was that it could initiate military measures either of aggression or defense but had to consult with the "great warrior" in carrying out these measures Even should the council declare itself in favor of peace, the "great warrior" might persist in "raising his hatchet" against a hostile tribe and lead all who chose to follow on the war-path.

In this case the council was powerless to act.[1]

Each Creek village had its own council house which stood near the "great House."[2] The "Great House" was occupied by the chief and his family and was the center of the social life of the town. The council house stood on a circular mound and was built in the shape of a large cone. The one described by Pickett[3] was placed on walls about twelve feet high and was from twenty-five to thirty feet in diameter. It was here that the miko and council met for deliberation of a private or formal character. When not thus used the council house became a general meeting-place for various purposes. Often religious ceremonies were held here and owing to the utter lack of ventilation the early traders often spoke of it as the "hot house."[4]

The Creek Confederacy was made up of one dominant tribe, the Creeks, and numberless other smaller tribes. Often these tribes were remnants of once larger and stronger ones who had joined the Creeks for protection. The Creek language was the Muskogee and this explains repeated references in this study to the Muskogee Nation. Each village was practically independent of the remainder of the confederacy and in reality formed a tribe by itself. In spite of the fact that the organization and administration of the villages were identical, yet the structure of the confederacy was extremely loose. The general attitude of the confederacy was strictly defensive and often when a tribe undertook an independent offensive campaign it was not sustained by the others.

There was a head chief of the confederacy but it seems that he had no particular position of command. He was elected by the general council.[1] This council determined the policy of the confederacy but issued no orders or commands. It was composed of representatives from the villages and met annually at a time and place designated by the head chief. Each village usually sent one representative to the meeting of the general council.[1] The head chief presided over the meetings of the council. When several of the tribes or villages united in a military campaign a head war-chief was appointed for that particular emergency.

There were two districts or divisions of the Creeks. These were spoken of as the Upper Creeks and the Lower Creeks. The governmental system in the two districts were identical and after 1860 they were united under one government as will be brought out later. They all attended the same general council, which was spoken of as the National Council, but in the administration of their local affairs they were independent of each other. It might be of interest in this connection to clarify their orders of chiefly rank. There was a principal chief of the nation elected from the Lower Creeks who was called the head chief; a principal chief of the Upper Creeks; a second chief for the Lower Creeks and one for the Upper Creeks.[2] The second chiefs were appointed by the principal chiefs with the advice and consent of the general council until 1859 when they were elected by a vote of the male citizens. After removal to Indian Territory, each village also had two subordinates who assisted the village chief in the affairs of the town government.

These second chiefs and subordinates held positions similar to that of a vice-president, in that they had no responsible duties except in the absence or illness of the chiefs under whom they worked.

When the Creeks were removed to Indian Territory in 1832-40 their geographical positions were reversed. The Upper Creeks moved into the southern portion of the Creek country and the Lower Creeks occupied the northern or upper section of the lands assigned to the Creeks in general.[3]

[3]It is interesting in this connection to remember that the Lower Creeks in the North aligned themselves with the Confederacy and the Upper Creeks in the South joined the Union forces during the Civil war.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION

In writing on the Creek missions and general conditions in the Creek country after 1837, Reverend George McAfee says, "For several years after coming to their new home the Indians appeared to be thoroughly disheartened, soured and disappointed, and made little effort toward self-government and seemed to be careless about self-improvement.[1]

In 1858, W. H. Garrett, United States Agent for the Creeks, says, "With the exception of some slight alterations, they adhere to their primitive form of government, which is well adapted to the wants and capacity for self-government of the great body of the nation. Many of the principal men are moral in their conduct, and do much by their example to advance their people in the arts of civilization. They are rapidly advancing in the science of government, and are anxious to establish a form of government similar to that of our States. This feeling will be gradually diffused among the uneducated Indians, which will gradually incline them to a change, and the influence that education and association with the white man is exerting will prepare them, at no very distant day, for a more complicated form of government."[2]

Elias Rector, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, observed in 1859 that the Creeks still retained their old system of chiefs. In July, 1859, an election for principal and second chief was held. One of each rank, for the two districts of Lower and Upper Creeks, was elected. This election was for the first time in the history of the Creeks, conducted after a civilized and democratic fashion, and passed off quietly. Motey Kinnard, formerly second chief, was elected principal chief of the Lower Creeks, and Jacob Duerryson, second. Among the Upper Creeks, E-cho-Harjo, formerly second, was elected principal, and Ok-tar-cars-Harjo second chief. With this election the late principal chiefs of the Lower and Upper Creeks. Roley McIntosh and Tuckabatche Micco, retired from public life. They were remarkable men possessed of vast influence with their people, particularly McIntosh, whose power among his people was almost absolute. He had long been the ruling man among the Lower Creeks and his word was law. Tuckabatche Micco was also a man of great influence, a staunch friend of his people, a maker of treaties, and a good man. Both these men were captains in the Creek wars, and Tuckabatche Micco exerted great influence in removing the Seminoles from Florida in 1857-8. His services at that time were very valuable to the United States.

The Upper and Lower Creeks continued to meet in general council after their removal and in 1860 some changes were made which may be regarded as distinct improvements. During the session of the general council that year a constitution was adopted. Its most important provisions possibly was the elimination of the two districts which had divided the nation heretofore. It further provided for the election by all the Creeks of one principal and one second chief for the nation. Their country was no longer to be known as the land of the Upper Creeks and the Lower Creeks but as the Muskogee Nation. The nation was divided into four districts and the council appointed one judge for each district and also five supreme judges who were to form the high court of the nation. Their duties were to take cognizance of all offenses committed within their jurisdiction and to see that all guilty parties were brought to trial. More authority was conferred upon their police, termed "Light Horse," whose duty it was to destroy all spirituous liquors brought into the nation, and levy a fine or inflict a penalty upon all persons found guilty of introducing it, or the commission of the other offenses.[2] The most decided improvement was the placing of the general council in a position to act authoritatively for the nation rather than as merely an advisory group.

From all accounts it seems that the Creeks were enjoying their unity and were setting about their business of adjusting themselves to their new form of government when the quarrel between the states caused them again to divide into factions. The effect of the Civil War upon the political and social life of the Creeks was disastrous. It is sufficient at this time to say that there was no recognized government in the Creek Nation from 1861 to 1866. The country was for the most part in the hands of the rebel forces and, after the war had ended, it was nearly two years before the Creeks were able to adjust their differences and re-unite as a nation.

Elijah Sells, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Superintendency, in making his report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1865 observed that there were about six thousand Creeks that remained true allies of the United States and those who survived the Civil War had returned to their homes destitute. Also, there were six thousand five hundred Creeks that allied with the Confederacy and were living in the southern portion of the Indian Territory. They were all anxious to return and live in peace with their brothers of the same tribe.[1]

After the reunion of the Creeks and the signing of the peace treaty with the United States in 1866 they immediately set about to rebuild their homes and readjust their tribal affairs. By 1867 there was considerable agitation on the subject of a new code of laws for the nation. Many of the more progressive saw that the constitution of 1860, while it was a distinct improvement, was inadequate to the needs of the situation at that time. J. W. Dunn, United States Indian Agent for the Creeks in 1867 says that "The laws as now administered, require four times the number of officers that would be necessary to execute promptly and efficiently under a well-established code. These officers, whose numbers are scarcely known even to the authorities, are poorly paid, and are dissatisfied with their positions and salaries. Indeed, so imperfect is the government, that the duty of no officer is fully defined; so that it is difficult for them to determine when they attain or overstep their authority. They have many intelligent and energetic men among them who appreciate this position of affairs, and who are strongly urging reform. A better feeling is manifested between the late antagonistic parties than ever before, and I am convinced that they are determined to unite as one people in all interests. They are anxious to bend every energy to the improvement of the country and to devote their money to the establishment of the schools, manufactories, public buildings, and good government."[2]

It seems from the record of the events which followed that this agitation had its effect. The general council, or National Council of the Muskogee Nation, as it was called after 1860, met at their council grounds near Deep Fork in October, 1867. At the beginning of the meeting attention was called to the isolated location of the meeting-place and accordingly a resolution was passed which provided that all meetings of the general council after 1867 should be held at Okmulgee which was nearer the geographical center of the Nation

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EARLY HISTORY OF THE CREEK INDIANS

Ohland Morton

According to the traditions of the Creeks, they originally lived in a distant western country. When Hernando Cortez landed at Vera Cruz in 1519 the Muscogee[1] apparently constituted a separate republic in the northwestern part of Mexico. Their exodus began when Spain conquered Mexico. The Creek confederacy formed the largest division of the Muskhogean family. They received their name from the early English traders on account of the numerous creeks and small rivers in their country.[2]

It seems from the migration legend of the Creeks[3] that after leaving Mexico they started east and after much wandering settled on the numerous streams between the headwaters of the Alabama and the Savanah Rivers in the country which now lies largely within the boundaries of the states of Alabama and Georgia.[1]

The Creeks were sufficiently numerous and powerful to resist the attacks from the northern tribes such as the Catawba, Iroquios, Shawnee, and Cherokee, after they had united in a confederacy which they did at an early date. Nothing certain can be said of their previous condition or of the exact time this confederacy was established, but it appears from the records of De Soto's expedition that leagues existed among several of the Creek towns in 1540.[2] These towns were presided over by head chiefs.

There were seven different languages spoken among the Creeks. These were the Muscogee, Hitchiti, Koasati, Alibamu, Natchez, Yuchi, and Shawnee. The first five of these were Muskhogean; theothers were alien incorporations.[3]

Geographically speaking, the Creeks were grouped as Upper Creeks on the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers in Alabama and Lower Creeks on the middle or lower Chatahoochee River on the Alabama and Georgia border. The Seminoles were a small body confined to the extreme northern part of Florida and were frequently spoken of as Creeks.[4]

The Creeks were a proud and haughty race, arrogant, brave and valiant in war. As a people they were more than usually devoted to decoration and ornamentation. They were fond of both vocal and instrumental music. Their most important games were chunkey[5] and a form of ball play. Exogamy, or marriage outside the clan, was the rule. Adultery by the wife was punished by the relatives of the husband, even though chastity in the unmarried was not considered a virtue. Descent was in the female line.[1]

There were some other peculiar customs among the Creeks which are worthy of mention. They usually buried their dead in a pit dug under the bed where the deceased lay in his house. The medical needs of these people were served by female practitioners who effected cures by the use of herbs and "magic".[2] All courting was done with the consent of the girl's mother or maternal uncle.[3] Polygamy was a common practice and existed among them until after the Civil War.[4]

No Creek knew his age. They had no months, weeks, and hours. The passing of days was noted by inserting pegs in a board. By the decimal system they counted to millions.[5]

The busk which the Creeks called the puskita, meaning a "fast", is by some early writers called the "green-corn dance." Taken all together the puskita was one of the most

remarkable ceremonial institutions of the American Indians.[6] It lasted from four to eight days, varying with the importance of the towns where it was celebrated. The day of the beginning of the celebration of the puskita, which took place chiefly in the town square, was determined by the "miko" or chief, and his council.

This celebration was an occasion of amnesty, forgiveness, and absolution of crime, injury, and hatred. It was a season of change of mind which was symbolized in various ways. A general amnesty was proclaimed, all malefactors might return to their town, and they were absolved from all crimes, which were now forgotten and they were restored to favor. In connection with the busk the women broke to pieces all the household utensils of the previous year and replaced them with new ones; the men refitted all their property so as to look new. Indeed it meant a new life, physical and moral, which had to begin with the new year. Houses were cleaned and all old things were burned.[1]

The Creeks had a peculiar form of government in that the confederation seemed to have no central control. The population of a town, regardless of the number of clans[1] represented, made up a tribe ruled by an elected chief or "miko", who was advised by the council of the town on all important matters. This council also appointed a "great warrior" or "tustenuggihlako." Certain towns were consecrated to peace ceremonies and were known as "white towns", while others, set apart for war ceremonies were designated as "red towns".

The Creek town in its outline extended eastward from the town square and represented an autonomy such as is usually implied by the term "tribe." Every considerable town was provided with a public square formed of four buildings of equal size, facing the cardinal points and each divided into three apartments. The structure

on the east side of the square was alloted to the chief councillors, probably of the administrative side of the government; that on the south side belonged to the warrior chiefs; that on the north to the inferior chiefs; while that on the west was devoted to the ceremony of the "black drink".[2] They had several orders of chiefly rank.[3]

The general policy of the confederacy was guided by a council composed of representatives from each town who met annually, or as the occasion required at a time and place, fixed by the chief or head "miko". The confederacy had its political organization founded on blood relationship, real

or fictitious.[4] Its chief object was mutual defense and the power wielded by its council was purely advisory. Furthermore the lack of central control is evidenced by the fact that parts of the confederacy and even separate towns might and actually did, on occasion, declare war.[1]

The history of the Creeks begins with the appearance of De Soto's army in their country in 1540. Then in 1559, Triston de Luna came in contact with the part of the group, but the only important fact that can be drawn from the record is the deplorable condition into which the people of the section penetrated by the Spanish had been brought by their visit. Juan del Pardo passed through their country in 1567, but his chronicler, Juan de la Vandera, has left little more than a list of unidentifiable names.[2]

The Creeks came permanently into the history of our country as allies of the English in the Apalachee War of 1703-8, and from that period continue almost uniformly as treaty allies of the South Carolina and Georgia colonies and hostile to the Spanish in Florida.

The only serious revolt of the Creeks against the United States took place in 1813-14. This was the well-known Creek War in which General Jackson took a prominent part.

This war ended in a complete defeat of the Indians and the submission of Weatherford their leader, followed by the cession of the greater part of their lands to the United States.[3]

Since this brief article could not possibly record all the events in the history of the Creeks prior to 1865, it is necessary to omit many happenings which may seem important.

Indian education proved to be a repellent force to the efforts to remove the Creeks to the west. Opposition to westward emigration apparently increased in proportion to the completeness of the transition from the hunting to the agri-

cultural stage of civilization. The Creeks who had good homes, schools, and churches were loath to leave them in exchange for the rather uncertain conditions in the west.[1] Experience had taught them that the Indian's happiness was of little consequence when the white man desired more land.[2]

In 1811 there was held a general council among the Creeks to discuss the sale of their land to the white man.[3] This council voted to forbid the sale of their lands and imposed the death penalty for the violation of this restriction. A large part of the lands of the Upper Creeks were confiscated as a result of their disloyalty during the War of 1812. Additional cessions were made by the treaties of January 22, 1818[4] and January 8, 1821.[5]

In 1823, William McIntosh, chief of the Lower Creeks, took the lead in a movement to sell more land to the Government. On February 12, 1825, he signed a treaty at Indian Springs, Georgia, which ceded a large tract of the Creek lands in Georgia in return for

an equal tract between the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers and $400,000 in money to be paid to the Creeks.[6] The Upper Creeks would not sign this treaty. John C. Calhoun, as Secretary of State, refused to recognize it but after the inauguration of John Quincy Adams as President, it was ratified by the Senate.[7] McIntosh was sentenced to death by a council of Creek chiefs and was assassinated on April 29, 1825, at Milledgeville where he had fled and was hiding in his own home.[8]

A delegation of Creek chiefs led by Opothleyohola and John Stidham went to Washington to protest against the enforcement of the treaty of Indian Springs which McIntosh

had signed. A new treaty was signed while this delegation was in Washington. The date of this treaty is January 12, 1826. By its provisions the Creeks ceded all their lands in Georgia to the Government and in return were to receive $217,600 and a perpetual annuity of $20,000. A further clause provided that the McIntosh party were to receive $100,000 and moving expenses.[2]

The final treaty which made way for the removal of the Creeks to the west was signed

in the city of Washington on March 24, 1832. By the terms of this treaty, the Creeks ceded all the rest of their lands east of the Mississippi River to the Government. They were to have all moving expenses paid, were to be furnished with supplies for a year's sustenance, besides tools, weapons, ammunition, blankets, and increased annuities. This treaty was signed by duly authorized representatives of the Creek Nation and Lewis Cass, secretary of war, as the representative of the government.[3]

There was a strong disinclination on the part of some of the leaders to move west and rejoin their fellow tribesmen of the McIntosh party who had preceded them to the new reservation. Opothleyohola, in particular was so bitterly opposed to such a course that he endeavored unsuccessfully to bargain for a tract of land in Texas upon which his people might settle. In the end, however, nearly all the Creeks migrated to the Indian Territory, though many of them did not go until several years after the last of their domain east of the Mississippi River had been sold to the Government.[1]

Shortly after emigration the Creeks found themselves involved in difficulties over boundary lines. A council which met at Fort Gibson in 1833 succeeded in making a satisfactory adjustment and the Creek boundaries were established.

That period intervening between the time of the removal of the Creeks and the Civil War must necessarily be treated very briefly in this article. It is characterized by progress

in religion, education, and the adjustment of their relationship with neighboring tribes.

During the first decade after removal the Baptists and the Methodists were the principal religious workers. During the period from 1840 to 1860 the religious factor in the Creek life proved to be a most potent force in the Creek Nation's advancement.

As early as 1833 the Baptists had established a mission boarding school at Ebenezer.[2] The American Board established a school at Coweta in 1843,[1] and the Methodists established the Asbury Manual Training School near Eufaula in 1850.

During the year 1848 the Presbyterians established a school at Tullahassee.[5]

The young people who were accommodated in these schools showed marked progress and soon improved noticeably in dress, speech and manners.

Practically the same form of government prevailed among the Creeks until 1867. This particular phase of their development has already been discussed in previous articles by the writer in The Chronicles of Oklahoma.

The Seminoles were originally a part of the creek Nation and after much litigation they were assigned lands by the government which had already been given to the Creeks. The Creek chiefs accepted the arrangement but the Seminoles objected because it would place them under Creek jurisdiction and make possible the enslavement of their fugitive black friends. However, in 1845 they agreed to removal to the assigned lands, and submitted themselves to the Creek council in all matters except finances.[1] On account of disagreements over fugitive slaves the two tribes were unable to live together peaceably and in 1856 the Creeks ceded part of their territory to the Seminoles on condition that it should not be sold, or otherwise disposed of, without the consent of the Creek Nation.[2]

On July 10-12, 1861, Albert Pike, as commissioner of the Confederate States, met the representatives of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations at Eufaula At this meeting and at one held on August 1, he negotiated formal treaties of

friendship and alliance with each of these tribes. Thus the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes were placed in an attitude of hostilty toward the Government of the United States, and the "White Man's quarrel" became the source of the Red Man's woe.[1]

Many of the Creeks remained loyal to the Union, even though the Federal Government seems to have abandoned them for a time.[2] In the fall of 1861 about 2500 of these gathered under the command of Opothleyohola, the aged chief. This group, after a few battles with confederate Indian forces were finally dispersed at the Battle of Chustenahlah, December 16, 1861.[3]

Thus Opothleyohola was crushed. The Indians who remained loyal after this nearly all gathered north of the Kansas Line. Their sufferings during the following winter are almost indescribable. They had abandoned homes and farms and stock. Most of them were scantily clothed, many without shoes, and food was scarce. Hundreds of them died from exposure and fever. Opothleyohola died in 1863.[4]

There were two regiments and one cavalry battalion made up mostly of Creeks which served with the Confederacy during the Civil War. Col. D. N. McIntosh commanded the first Creek Regiment, Lieut. Chilly McIntosh commanded the 1st Creek Cavalry Battalion, and Col. Chilly McIntosh commanded the 2nd Creek Regiment. Col. D. N. McIntosh was

the son of William McIntosh, the assassinated chief mentioned elsewhere in this article.

An examination of general histories does not reveal much in the way of detail concerning operations of contending armies in the Indian Territory, nor does a closer

> investigation of source material reveal any great strategic advantages gained therefrom. Nevertheless, war, in all its brutality, cruelty and destruction, came home to the inhabitants of that country during the years that followed.[1]

"The Civil War in the Indian country was mainly local. While there were some severe struggles in the Indian Territory, they were given little attention at Washingon or Richmond. The Indian, or Oklahoma region, was a buffer beween Kansas on the north and Texas on the south. The territory was rich in cattle and horses and a good ground for recruiting, and both armies wanted all of this material they could get. It was so ravaged, torn and bleeding, that when the southern leaders, as Stand Waitie, the McIntosh brothers, Tandy Walker, and the Folsoms and Adairs, hearing of Lee's surrender, said they would fight on to the bitter end, the people thought they had done enough. They deserved peace. So on July 14, 1865, three months after Lee's surrender, General Stand Waitie surrendered the last Confederate forces of the Indian Territory and the war in the Oklahoma land was over."

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RECONSTRUCTION IN THE CREEK NATION

Ohland Morton

"The Creeks"

"This tribe numbers 14,000, the females outnumbering the males about 1,500. Ten years ago the population reached 21,000. They own nearly 4,000,000 acres of land, and the United States Government holds in trusts for them $1,519,000." Also, "The Creeks have their annual dance, and are given to ball playing and similar polite arts."[1]

Although the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834 forbade unauthorized entrance of any reservation, the white population of Indian Territory continually increased by "silent immigration." Congress indirectly destroyed another barrier against the white man's advance in 1871. On March 3, a bill was passed providing that "No Indian nation as a tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty."[2] History shows that the violation of treaty pledges had characterized forever intercourse between the Indians and the Government, but the legalization of such a policy of refusing to recognize the independence of the tribes proved quite a significant factor in future developments. The abandonment of the earlier system of negotiating with the red men greatly simplified the situation and was, in reality, a weapon in the hands of the men so persistently endeavoring to secure the opening of the Indian lands.

In two previous articles the history of the Creeks has been briefly reviewed from about 1540 to 1870. We found the Creeks living under a loose confederacy, and existing in a most primitive sort of society. By 1870, they were a compact nation. They had survived several wars, the ordeal of removal, and the conflict between the states.

In this study of the political history of the Creek Indians since the Civil War it was found necessary and practicable to go back to the early records and bring the story up to the period treated. In the introduction we began with the records of De Soto's expedition in 1540. These records present the earliest written accounts of this tribe. Any statement regarding their condition prior to that time must be based largely on legends. From these legends we conclude that the Creeks once lived in the northwest part of Mexico.

A brief discussion of primitive customs together with a few facts of early history also found a place in the introduction. A rapid survey of events from 1811 to 1866 concluded the article. In this article a study of the Creek Nation during the period in which those in charge of the tribal government were attempting to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1866 was made. It was during this period that the factional wars began anew.

Since 1907, the counties, state, and nation have carried on all the government of the Creeks, but the tribe still has a principal chief and the tribesmen are still called together at intervals to discuss matters affecting their welfare. Since the adoption of the constitution in 1867 there have been but ten chiefs of the Creek Nation. They were Sam Checote, Lochus Harjo, Ward Couchman, J. M. Perryman, L. C. Perryman, Isparhecher, Pleasant Porter, Moty Tiger, G. W. Grayson, and Washington Grayson. The first eight of these were elected by the tribe and the last two were appointed by President Wilson.[1]

Many of the tribal customs of the Creeks continued until a comparatively recent date. In the Introduction mention was made of the fact that, from the earliest records, it seems that the medical needs of the Creeks were attended to by female practitioners. Nevertheless, all subsequent accounts speak of medicine men. Evidently, some time in the early history of this tribe the female practitioner was relegated to the ranks.

The Creek warrior has made it a point to be in every fight possible. During the Spanish American War the noted "Rough Riders" of Troop L gained an enviable military record. Troop L was enlisted from the Creek and Cherokee nations. During the World War two of the outstanding heroes were Richard Bland and Marty Beaver, Creek Indians from Oklahoma.[2]

Of the 11,952 Creeks in Oklahoma, one is safe in saying that fully ninety-five per cent are engaged in productive work and making useful citizens. They are to be found in nearly all lines of pursuit. They are merged in the body politic as workers in factories, shops, and on the farms. Some are in business occupations, others are in professions as lawyers, doctors, teachers, and nurses. Many of the Creeks own large farms and some have been considerably enriched by the recent oil developments in Oklahoma.

OHLAND MORTON, Eastern Oklahoma College, Wilburton, Oklahoma.

Muscogee Creek Nation

Elder Interviews

Interviews:

PHILLIP DEERE

Fullblood Creek
Nuyaka Community - Age: 58
Traditional Medicineman / Orator

The Creek traditions and their customs have been held down for so many years; even though their is a need for it, it is hardly ever mentioned even in history books. There's not that many books on the Creek tradition, although it was one of the largest confederacies in the Southeast, and the Southeast culture is entirely different from the tribes we live with here in Oklahoma.

Since the tribes came from the East coast, they have beliefs that are very much different from the Plains or Northern Indians. But we mostly here today, even some of our Creek artists that we have, we look at their art work and it concerns other tribes, rather than their own, because the tribe has not built that much pride in them as I see it.

Its needed, the study of the Creek culture and what the significance of the tribal grounds or what is sacred to them and to the creation and where did the ceremonial grounds begin and how important it was to our ancestors should be brought out. But, since it hasn't been brought out a lot of the traditions have died down and much of it has been put down and was never held as anything sacred anymore. It is more like just a recreation area to a lot of our Indian people and the non-Indian, of course, are a long ways from understanding what its all about.

There was no ceremonial ground in the beginning and the history tells us that the beginning of the Muscogee people, or the Creek tribe, which are both the same, began as two sets of people made up the tribe. There is very little in the history that talks about the Red Clan and the White Clan. They both have separate history from how they originated, but combined, they become the Muscogee Tribe.

The beginning of what is known as the Red Clan say that they descended from the skies, and the White Clan say they came out of the earth, somewhere in the West. . .

Now, there are certain tribal grounds that I mention which is called ceremonial grounds, in our language we call it tribal towns. The beginning of what is known as the Red Clan says that they descended from the skies and the White Clans say they came out of the earth somewhere in the West.

However, it is a long migration story of the people from the West and no one knows how long it took them to get to the East coast. But, after settling in the East, somewhere in Georgia, Alabama and Florida, where the white man found them, is where the corn came about.

During the migration they had no corn, and corn came about in the East, and it required ceremonies. Therefore, ceremonial grounds had to be established, which was very much like a church except you didn't join it. You were born with it and according to Creek customs, each member of the Creek tribe is born into one of these tribal grounds, and somewhere in the East where they lived they had probably more than 60 different tribal grounds that they attended year after year.

After coming from the East and brought over here to what is now called Oklahoma, they were cut down to something like 44 recognized tribal grounds. Today, we have perhaps 20 or 21 existing tribal grounds, somewhere in the neighborhood of that.

In 1972, the survey was something like 12 or 13 tribal grounds that were actually functioning. After that, some of them have somewhat revived so we have a little over 20 tribal grounds now.

During the time they settled in the East, the oldest of what we have at the tribal ground is perhaps the ball pole, which is a game between men. In it they throw out a cow skull or something that symbolizes a fish or some kind of skull. At the tribal ground nearest here, their ball pole it has been said is the symbol of a war club, so they never put up a cow skull or any image of a fish up there, but there is a knot there and it is supposed to represent a club.

This is one of the oldest of what the tribe has, the ball pole is older than the ceremonial ground itself, because it represented that migration when the earth opened its bowels somewhere in the West, and they went further West and lived in a land of fog and this is where the clans originated.

When the winds came and blew the fog away, the first animal that one saw he became of that clan, and , of course, the first animal was the Bear. So the bear became the leading clan and all the others followed, deer, raccoon, and whatever the tribe had originated in this land.

. . .they thought the sun was the purest thing of anything their eyes could see. . .

However, the children would not grow up so they decided to go East, and they thought the sun was the purest thing of anything that eyes could see. So they went East and no one knows for how long they travelled going East.

While doing this, they came to a mountain and the story says that the mountain thundered, and it had red smoke coming from the top of this mountain, which nowadays it sounds very much like a volcano.

. . .they set the pole up whichever way it fell, gave them direction. . .

However, there was a pole that trembled all the time and nothing could stop it. For some reason, and why I never could figure it out, but these kinds of stories has been told over and over in other incidents, they took a motherless child, which is an orphan child that had no parents, and they slamed that baby against the pole and killed the baby and when this happened, the pole stopped.

And this pole, they picked it up and during the migration wherever they settled, they set the pole up and whichever way it fell, it gave them the direction which way to go. Always, it fell toward the East and they migrated going East.

There were three groups of people that came out of the earth. They were known as the Cussista people, the second group was known as the Chicksaw, the Chicksaw is an entirely different tribe now, but our language is similar, and the third group was Coweta.

These were the first tribal grounds of the Muscogee people that came from the West. They went on East until they reached the East coast, they couldn't see where the sun was coming from, what they were determined to see, but since it came out of the ocean, they couldn't go any further, so they settled there along the coast for perhaps several years.

The pole for once in all the years of migration, fell backwards. . .telling them to go back. . .

The pole for once in all the years of migration fell backwards, telling them to come back, so they came back to the inland and lived in Georgia and Alabama when the white man came here.

However, when they were settled there, they settled for good and this is where the tribal grounds was established. Naturally the first tribal grounds was Coweta, and the Chicksaws also had their language which was similar and their names were that of the Muscogee Tribe.

Cussista meant to say in plain ancient language, where is the sun or where is it coming from, that was the idea in the first place and the Chicksaws, they too, their names were picked up from the Muscogee language, too, because their name was Weegecussossa, someone who see the sun.

The others were Coawheta and that in latter years changed into Coweta. The Cussista people, in our modern times, are located around Okmulgee and they even have the Cussista church out there and nearby there was a Cussista tribal ground and these were the first people.

And the Coweta grounds were located toward Eufaula and the Chicksaw, of course, they were a separate tribe. Speaking almost the same language and were close friends to the Cussista people. I was told that in early times, real early times, when the Muscogees went to war and they fought against the Cherokees and other tribes, and always the Chicksaws refused to aid any other body and any other tribe, because of their connection with the Cussista peole. These were the first tribal grounds, however, in migrating to the East they met the other clan which is called Red Clan of today.

These are what we call Tukabotchee people and they are located around west of Wetumka. That is the oldest grounds of this other clan and they have an entirely different story of how they came about.

Their story that they descended from the sky on seven blocks of wood. They speak the same language, but they do no say they came from the West.

They were from the East and had always been there when the people from the West arrived. They met these Tukabotchee people over there and it was said that in ancient times when one went into a village they shot a white arrow into the village, white is always the sign of peace among the Muscogee people. But, if the white arrow returned with the red paint, that meant war.

So the Cussista people that came from the West shot an arrow into this village and a red one returned, so that meant war and they never knew each other until the evening of the war. They met each other at the river.

One asked each who was the other, and the people across the river said, "I am Tukabotchee." The other said, "I am Coweta", and on that evening they learned they could understand each other in language. Rather than go to war, they compared medicines.

. . .what we call the Redroot, is took from the short willows. . .not the regular willows. . .

The medicine that is used in the tribal ground today was displayed by the people. The other across the river had what is called spicewood and also the people from the West had spicewood also, but they didn't present their spicewood, instead they presented what we call the Redroot, which is took from the short willows, not the regular willows that you see here.

The Redroot and the Spicewood was laid down together to demonstrate their powers and after much whooping, they were going to show one another how much power this medicine had. So the Coweta people, before whooping four times, the earth began to shake.

Then the same for the Tukabotchee people. When the Tukabotchee stomped their foot on the ground, another earthquake came about to show that the two medicines combined together and this was the beginning of the Muscogee people.

Combining the two people, one from the skies and one from the earth, made the largest confederacy in the Southeast area.

In the Muscogee Confederacy, they spoke something like six different dialects and many of them were small tribes coming out of Louisiana and around the area. These tribes were to small to hold off their enemies, the French or the British or whoever they may be. So they had to go to the Muscogee country to find refuge among the Muscogee people. That made them that much more powerful in the Southeast. This is how the tribal grounds got started.

The Muscogee people also had the circle. . .we can't get away from that circle . . .it is a measurement with no beginning and no ending. . . everything revolves in that circle. . .

These tribal grounds were regarded as sacred grounds, because of the circle. Even though we are looking at the Muscogee traditions, we can't get away from that circle, that that circle is something sacred to all the nations of this country, no matter what tribe they are the circle has always been something sacred.

The Muscogee people also had the circle, and it is well known among all Indian people that it is a measurement with no beginning and no ending, and it represents the cycle of life that to this day Spring was here last year, it's here this year and has been going on for thousands of years. Everything revolves in that circle, so the ceremonial grounds, each and every ceremonial ground, either red clan or white clan, they all have this circle.

The terrace around this ground and the grounds were cleaned and kept cleaned and hoed out every year around later part of June or July. What was cleaned out was raked onto this terrace that built the circle around these ceremonial grounds. In that ancient times that was the end of the year and the beginning of the new one.

Cleaning out the grounds meant new life again. . .

Cleaning out the grounds meant new life again, so a new fire was built which was the sacred fire, built with flint fire and the old ashes were taken out, out of the circle, and new earth was put there. The new fire was built there to symbolize the end of the year and a new year.

They say that in ancient times even their old clothes were thrown away and they made new ones. Even their old dishes were busted and they built new dishes and everything was renewed at that time.

The new year for the Muscogee people was not that of January first; it was during the Greencorn ceremony that was the beginning of the new year. And old bitter feelings, crimes that were committed during the past year were forgiven, even before entering into the ground everything was forgiven to one another. Even some of the crimes that was committed, a real serious crime, was even forgiven. Everything was renewed during this time and that's what the Greencorn ceremony is all about.

I had a chance to go to Africa two years ago. I went to Ywandi, Cameroon. The World spiritual leaders and medicine people were meeting with the World ministers, church ministers, sponsored by the World Council of Churches. I went there and I thought it was a real interesting meeting there, because the church leaders had four or five workshops and traditional people only had one which I thought was good, because among the traditional people there is a common understanding of the creation and many stories are similar throughout the whole world. I find out that the Bantu tribe of Cameroon, they also have a new years. Their new year comes off in September and in their villages they too clean out all the villages, rake everything up and clean it up and they, too, build a sacred fire thats to burn throughout the whole year. I noticed the similarity there.

The sacredness of the ground there, we sometimes overlook what the ground was about. I suppose that this began maybe a hundred years ago, that these grounds began to be put down, because of misunderstanding, not knowing what its all about. Even the social dances that takes place at night, when taking part in the ceremonies, it is required that everyone that takes part stays awake all through the night. The Muscogee people are great people to stay awake at night and to fast. So the fasting goes on all day long, taking of the medicine, is purifying one's self. Then at night the dances are for the purpose of staying awake. There are other stories that says that participating in the ceremony is old but the dances came later for the purpose of staying awake.

The social dances, there is alot of questions that come about that too, because of the songs that cannot be interpreted. The songs that are sung in there, no one can interpret that, because in the beginning we had no teachers, no instructors. We could only copy off nature and the whole civilization of the Indian people was copied off of a study of

nature. So when we hear the birds sing, we never question no one what they're saying, but with the Muscogee people there has been a lot of questions asked, what are they saying? If they don't know they are saying they shouldn't say it, seems to be the idea.

There has been a lot said about the tribal grounds, but it is a copy of nature and you do not question nature. Why did you (Nature) bring your leaves in April? You never ask the trees this. When you hear the lion roar, no one asks the lion what the lion is saying. So we always felt that we are a part of nature.

Many of the songs that you hear in the tribal grounds may have no interpretation, but it is understood that other tribes can sing the same songs and they can use the same words. This dances goes on all night long until next morning. I one time heard some songs in South America that I, myself, could sing with them, because it had the same words that we use at the tribal grounds here, and probably it is the same way with other tribes, too, in their songs. There's hardly any songs, traditional songs, that can be interpreted unless it be that of the church songs, now those can be interpreted. And of course, the medicine songs of our people, if it was not so much against our way that too can be translated into English, but it never has, and I don't think it ever will.

> . . .the medicine songs of our people. . .can be translated into English, but it never has, and I don't think it ever will be. . .

There are a lot of meanings in our tradition that are never brought out because our ancestral homelands are away in Georgia and Alabama and all the mounds that are over there today.

I had a chance to see some of these mounds where our people are buried. When buried there, they were not laying down. Many of these mounds that have been excavated all over the East coast area, Ohio, and all those states over there, even though they were not our people. The Indians there buried their people very much like ours.

In these mounds they found bones of our people buried setting up. And I heard from some of the old-timers in this community here talk about our people being buried setting up. When they were buried they were doubled up (fetal) in this fashion; they were placed in the ground and dirt was covered over them and continuing to do this built up these mounds that they have there in these states now. Many of these mounds that they find, burial mounds especially, they will find bones in that shape and even as far as Peru. I've seen in the British museum last year when I was there and I had the chance to go to what they called the Indian storage house, and I have seen that the Peru Indians are buried the same way. I seen them setting up when they were buried.

> . . .you return as you were born . . .so it gives you a good idea how come they buried their people in these mounds. . . so when one dies, he goes back to Mother Earth, just like when he was born. . . that's why they buried them setting up . . .

Now, according to some of the old people that were around here, they say that, not only these old people, I guess, it is common and well-known that you return as you were born. So it gives you an idea how come they buried their people in these mounds. Before you were born into this world in the mother's womb, that's the shape that you were in; you was all doubled up like that and at the end of nine months, you came into the world. With every Indian throughout this whole nation they refer to the earth as Mother Earth. So when one dies he goes back to Mother Earth, just like he was born and that's the reason why they buried them setting up. Then building the mounds represented a pregnant woman - that's what it stood for. Later on in years, they began to bury them laying down as we do now.

So what traditions and customs that our people had, they had meanings that's somewhat lost throughout the years. Education, perhaps is responsible for a lot of this. Sometimes Christianizing people is responsible for this also, because all this was worldly and had no meaning to the new people that arrived in this country; they were from another culture. So, in the short four or five hundred years much of this has been lost, but if we study our history that we call Indian way of life, it's not that much different in any other race of people. Because I take it that whether he be a Frenchman or Dutchman or whatever he may be, life couldn't have begun much different, because at one time, they too had no teachers, they too had no schools, had no universities to go to when their ancestors came about. So they were also close to nature. They also studied nature.

I reminded them of that when I was in London last year; I lectured one week there in downtown London, and I reminded those English people that their ancestors, too had their mind set on nature at one time. Thier old buildings say so; the modern buildings don't tell us that, but the old buildings down the street have imprints of nature on that building. The old furniture has a print of nature on that furniture, but the modern furniture, there is nothing there to remind us of nature no more. The modern buildings are all glass. Bach and Mozart, they were nature-minded too, they remind us of nature. So the old people way back they had their minds set on nature; they had their love for nature at one time. But under the name of progress, perhaps, our people's thoughts of nature were drained out of them.

Destruction of nature came about the way we see it to this day; that if these trees are in our way, all we have to do is bulldoze them down. There is no love for nature, but in a small way maybe there are certain groups of people that are struggling and fighting to preserve nature; and always the native people had love for nature, they have always had love for what they call Mother Earth.

I am constantly thinking of

I like Switzerland, because I never saw Pampers laying on the roadside. . .

my travels, such as Switzerland. It is a beautiful country, the mother-country of many people here like Germany and those countries over there. But best of all, I like Switzerland, because I never saw Pampers laying on the roadside, I never saw a beer can laying there, and the country is so clean, and those people have been there for hundreds of years. They have them a farmland that they farmed for years and years, year after year. They're still farming those lands and they're still producing good vegetables, big cabbages, big broad leaves of mustard or whatever. They still produce good food because they keep their land up.

Coming back to our country, I look around and think about people here. Is it because the mother-country is over there; and their life didn't originate here for them that they lay this land in waste, they keep it trashy? I always wonder about that and I've heard this about going to greener pastures, and I've wondered what that really means.

We don't rebuild our land, . . .We wear the land out, and leave it in waste . . .

Then I begin to think after traveling and going to these other countries and seeing how clean these countries are and coming back here - we don't rebuild our land here. We wear the land out and leave it in waste, and then we go over here.

The first people that came here, they drifted from another country, and they remained here, and their descendents that live here in this country maybe their drifters, too. So they're willing to leave Chicago, they're willing to leave Los Angeles, or they're willing to leave Ohio and come to Oklahoma, Connecticut, anywhere they want to go, they do that. But they leave the land in waste, and they go to the greener pastures and sometimes I just almost figure out what this guy is thinking if he wants this land.

Now this is the original allotment of my mother; we are fortunate out of thousands of our people that don't have any land any more. We are fortunate to at least have this 160 acres here and I can just imagine somebody passing by and thinking there is no improvement on this land and wishes that he had it, because he believes in going to greener pastures. He begins to look over here instead of rebuilding his land. He wants this land over here, so I kind of have an idea of what they mean, going to greener pastures now and that's the trouble with a lot of other tribes now.

. . .this whole area was the Muscogee land that was assigned to them. . . they're still attached to this land here. . .

But, getting back to our Muscogee People here, this whole area was the Muscogee land that was assigned to them; it is not our original homeland. But, after being here for more than a hundred years, we became attached to this land here. But from basic pressure from all directions, that many of our people had to give up their land, move into cities urban areas, so there is not that many Indians living out here in the country no more. But, still yet, they're still attached to this land here; we have Muscogee people living in Sacramento, but when they're talking about their home, they're not talking about that apartment in Sacramento. They're talking about back here in the Eastern part of Oklahoma. This is their home, whether they have land here or not, this is still their home.

You can take even the people that goes to these tribal grounds, many of them live in cities, but when their tribal ground is gonna have something going on, they come all the way back from Oklahoma City and Tulsa and camp here. Alright, you go to their churches, many of the Creek church members, they live in Oklahoma City and Tulsa and Dallas, all over, but they're always coming back, because they recognize this is home. They may not have a foot of land anymore, but after coming through here they can feel they're back home again.

One of the things I am always kind of proud of, you know, we like many other tribes, have our little dissentions, we have our little factions, Indian politics, and so on, but for some reason, we've kept our language. Visiting many other tribes, I find out there are some tribes that don't have a language at all. But within our Muscogee people, they have managed to keep their language, even at the churches they're singing songs, praying and preaching in their own language.

Our language is strong and that's what is required to continue with your culture. They will never learn the full tradition of our people without the language; that language has to be there. People from different tribes and non-Indians come here wanting to be medicinemen, but I tell them it's impossible because you don't know the language. You have to know the language in order to keep this going, but with our young people, where they lose the language, they can read and study all they want to about the Creek traditions and customs, but without the language, they will never have a full understanding of it.

Even telling a story, what we always refer to as bedtime stories when we were children, we knew what they were talking about when they start talking about rabbit or coyote or whatever. We knew what they were talking about and we were told those stories all through the growing up period we heard these little stories. Now, with the children today, they don't understand their language so you try to tell that in English and somewhere along the story it loses it's meaning. It's not even funny.

The language we have is a beautiful language. We have no cuss words; every word we can understand and it always made me think of my school years. I went to grade school and I was placed in an orphan home in Muskogee. At that time they did not want me to speak my language. So I had to go and play around with Cherokees and other tribes so I forget my

language. But somehow I managed to preserve it and all of my children here I taught them my language. There are alot of those, mainly those growing up in cities, they don't speak their language.

Our language is still strong, but still yet, most of our people year after year, they're moving into Okemah or Okmulgee or somewhere. Their children seem to be forgetting their language or the parents are not teaching them. That language is required.

You can take the beliefs of something that is sacred, to us or has always been holy to the tribe, it seems to me like it is no longer there, even the tribal grounds. The very people that operates there probably doesn't know the full meaning of what's going on there. Some of them probably go to it because mama used to go to it or grandpa used to go to it, not really understanding what the fire in the center is all about or how come it's there. Sometimes I get into a little argument with some people that kind of talk against it and sometimes it comes from church-going people.

In the early times the missionaries made a mistake by thinking that we worship the fire and to this day that thought still kind of hangs around, that the traditional people worship the fire. If whoever is saying this is a church person or church-going person, I remind them how come God did not speak to Moses in person, rather a burning bush spoke to Moses.

The thoughts of the Creation is different among the Muscogee people than other tribes. These are some of the things I have learned the past few years of my travels;

The Lakota people pray directly to the Great Spirit, much like Christian people only they use the pipe to communicate to the Great Spirit. The Navajo communicate with a Great Spirit in their own way. Alot of other tribes, they pray directly with the Creator or the Great Spirit. One thing I find out studying my own ways, that we never had a prayer direct with the Creator or to the Great Spirit and it's hard to explain this to other tribes. Why? Even to a non-Indian it would be very difficult for them to understand because of the language also.

We had no name for the Creator. . .

The other tribes they pray direct to the Creator or the Great Spirit, whatever they call it, and the white man his Jehovah, God, he prays direct to him.

Traditional Muscogee people in ancient times had no such prayer and we are the only ones that I can think of that don't have that kind of prayer, because we had no name for the Creator. In ancient times the Creator was called the One Above All. That's the only name that we had and in later years through Christianizing our people, we began to call God in our language. Much further back than Christianity coming to us they had no name for the Creator, it was against the religion of our people to try to picture or try to figure out the Creator.

In the Southeast culture, the belief is in four separate worlds; underneath, surface, water, and the sky. Within the four separate worlds there is no description of a Creator, and so, if I say that creator may be a tree or what we call Above All, maybe a moon or star or the sun or maybe the Earth, it would be hard for you to dispute that. If I stick to my agrument, there's no way you can win. Grab all your books that you can find and you cannot win, because no one has ever saw the Creator, no one has ever saw God. Then again we refer back to Moses, he only saw the shadow of God. What did the shadow look like? Did the shadow look like a human being? Or did it look like an animal? No one knows. So if you have never seen the Creator; if you have never seen God, you can't say that God is not a tree. There is no other way that you can describe the Creator outside this circle. You can't describe the Creator outside the creation, so that is the Muscogee people; no other tribe will talk about this in that way because I've been with them and I've talked about it with them.

There is a belief among other tribes that the Great Spirit is up here somewhere (above). There is the belief in the Christian teaching that God was like me. He had ears and eyes, he is a figure of me because in the Book of Genesis it says so, that we are in His image. So the belief is that there is this big guy up here somewhere which is called God or Creator, but within the ancient beliefs of the Muscogee people there is no such thing. That's why the belief is in the four separate worlds and what makes the four separate worlds is that there is life underneath and we have stories like the bedtime stories that I was talking about of what took place in early times between the animals underneath and those on the surface. We have stories that tell us what happened in the sky world, the earth, the water, there is life in water, too. What happened between these animals we have these stories and we understand what powers and energies that every part of the creation possess. A tiny blade of grass has powers that the biggest tree doesn't have, a little bitty insect has certain powers that the elephant doesn't have. So in every creation, there is powers and energies there and this is where the Muscogee belief comes that they are medicine people. They are believers in herbs. There's been many different people even in early times trying to explain what the word "Muscogee" means. Everybody fumbled around with that word for years and years, and I was told Muscogee is not a full word, it is only a part of a Creek word and what it really means is those that possess herbs. It was pronounced "Ishekeemusseeoksusske" and of course, white man can't say that, so "Muscogee" is easier, so Muscogee became our name.

But what the long word means is "people that have tea or herbs" so most of our people were herbal people. They believed in mints, they believed in blackjacks (oak), elm, or whatever, that they have certain powers for certain cures. Not only was it the medicineman that used it, people that were not medicine people, they knew how to use these herbs and the whole, entire Muscogee Nation at one time in speaking their language, even a young person knew something concerning herbs. So, they were herbal people, that's where our name comes from.

The story tells us that at one

time all of the enemies of our people were everything within the creation and man stood alone with no friends. The animals, the birds, and everything was against the human being at one time, and that the only friend they could find was the herbs. The herbs came together and said that we will protect you; we will give you life and take care of you. so, they became friends in early times and they became the Muscogee people. That's where our names come from and there is a cure for everything. Now that we don't have that many medicine people, a cure is within our sight, perhaps, but because of the loss of our customs, loss of our language, we don't know what these cures are. We have to relearn that.I believe that its important because in time to come when I think of the modern technology that has brought about destructive devices, when this civilization comes to an end, how are we to survive again without the knowledge of the herbs? There will be no doctors.I've even looked at Ted Koppel's news not too long ago about the possibility of the Nuclear War. If anything happened in San Francisco or New York or wherever, there would'nt be enough doctors to take care of these people. If this is true, someday when this civilization comes to an end and if part of us remained alive, if part of us survive, how do we start life all over again without the knowledge of these herbs, without knowing how to take care of ourselves, since we have become dependent people. If something ever happened, it would be disasterous to everybody that drifted away from that natural way, because almost everyone depend on Safeway stores, super-markets, for their groceries and vegetables. We have become so dependent, it may be better that we die in the nuclear war, because if we survive we are not going to survive very long anyway because we do not know how.

. . .when this civilization comes to an end. . . they will say "This used to be Okemah". . .

I think it is important that we really understand our culture because all civilizations have come to an end at one time or another, history tells us that. Mayan civilization came to an end.

People go down to Central America and look at the walls there, how it was put together; they say that this was the old Aztec temple. This is the old city of the Mayans. The old ruins are there, tourist people go down there, millions of them go down there every year. And, when this civilization comes to an end, perhaps, tourist people will come through here and say "this used to be Okemah. This used to be Mason." Nothing prevents a civilization from coming to an end.

The loss of language was predicted years ago. . . the neglect of the ceremonial grounds was also told. . .

There are many prophecies that was told to our people. All these prophecies have been lost. They have these stories of where they come from and how they are going to end and what's going to happen. All these, many of them, were never recorded. Maybe just a few was recorded. The loss of language was predicted years ago. The neglect of the ceremonial grounds was also told and so all these have been lost in our tribe here.

I thing a lot about these things. Sometimes it makes me wonder how many of our people will be destroyed? How many of them will be lost forever? I keep looking around. I keep a thinking and I hope that I'm not the only Indian left because of knowing this. We may look like Indians, we have the color of an Indian, but what are we thinking? What are we doing to our own children who are losing their language, their own ways.

I sometimes think that even within the government, there's an all-out effort to lose Mr. Indian. Even Reagan, his new Federalism or whatever it is. it means cutting off all the funding from the Indian people. There's two new bills in there right now that's going to do that, unless something is done about it. All these programs that are being cut off, it may not effect me that much, but it's going to hurt a lot of my people. But on the other hand, what's our people acting like? What are they doing? Are they still trying to be Indians or are they just benefit Indians, a three-day Indian, a clinic Indian, or BIA-school Indian, what kind of Indians are we?

It makes me think about that and sometimes I think that one of these days we are going to find in our mail box, an application to fill out to be an Indian. Are you an Indian? Yes. How do you know? I've got a roll number. Do you speak your language? Probably be a lot of them that will be "No." Did you go to ceremonies? "No." Can you sing? "No." What makes you an Indian?

I wouldn't be a bit surprised if something similar to that happens, that we will have to answer those questions, each and every one of us someday. Because I feel like the precedent was set in Boston not too long ago when the Matchbe Indians went to court over the land claim in Maine and around that New England states. These Indians were claiming half of Maine and when they went to court,just like I've been saying for five or six years, these things came out. But when this case came up, the judge directed his questions to the leader of the Matchbe Indians and asked him if they have their language. Matchbe Indians don't have their language. They say they don't, just a few words. Do you have Pow-wows? Yes, we have Pow wows. Do you go, he said directing his question at the leader of the Matchbe? Yes, I go. What do you do? I go and watch them have Pow-wow; everytime they go, I'm there. Everything was turned over to the jury. After that, the question comes out - do white people go there? Yes. they go. What do they do? They observe. Turned over to the jury and the jury rules they (Matchbes) are not American Indians. They have been trying to appeal that case all this time, but I don't know if they're going to gain anything or not. But that's the very thing I've been talking about. It's going to take more than a number to be an Indian. And, those were the questions that came out of this court.

I think that from here on in, we as Muscogee people maybe facing the same thing in the future years. So, it is important that we preserve our language, try to know-more and more bout our culture. If that man would have said, "I beat on a drum," or "I put on my costume," or "I get out there and I sing with them ," the jury would have something to think about. But they compared him to the whites and they were not any different so that's how come they were losing.

These people up there in the New England states, many of those tribes are not recognized by the government, because they have lost it. We have some in Louisiana, Cossadi Indians, that our part of our people, too, and they were never recognized by the government. They can even speak their language, those people down there, but they are not recognized. So I believe that we have something like that in store for us, too. I've always wanted to see some kind of cultural revival among our people here.

I let them know, there is no failure in life. . . until you try to be somebody else. . .

Many times when speaking to universities and colleges where there is a lot of Indian students, I let them know there is no failure in life, until you try to be somebody else.Any day you practise something that doesn't belong to us, something happens to us, many times we become failures. There is nothing wrong with our culture. There is nothing wrong with our tradition, even though there has been efforts made as I said to lose Mr. Indian, I still think that the pride that will come back to a race of people will prove that they once had a perfect life. We are proud people or should be proud people.

So far, we haven't built an Indian city, so far we haven't seen an Indian judge, we don't even see a jury, hardly ever see an Indian on a jury. We're very short on Indian lawyers. We're behind, but what's happened to us? Many of us, we have a problem,alcohol, suicide. All this is a problem among nationwide Indians. We, too have it right here in our Muscogee people. What happened to us? How come someone wants to kill himself? Not only a Muscogee person, but anybody. Why does one want to take his own life? Because he is not happy in life That's why people committ suicide and that's whats happening to our people, too. We have many, many young people who have taken their lives and it still goes on. We're in trouble all the time.

We are the only people that lived without prisons and jailhouses. There is no evidence of them in our history until very late. Not more than 70 years ago, we had our own court system. People were convicted to die and if it was determined that he would die or be shot there in the old courthouse, in the yard there at the tree, we didn't have to stick them in jail. Our people are honest, they are true people. So the judge would allow this man to go home, take care of his business. He would go home, make provision for his family, do everything he could within 30 days, had least and dinner with relatives and at the end of 30 days, he came up to the old courthouse there, riding on his horse to be shot and killed in front of that tree there.

Today our young people are the first chance. They are going to run from the police and it their let free to go somewhere and come back, many don't ever appear, they jump bond. But in the old days, they knew their tradition.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

The only thing that I can tell you would be about the Muscogee tribe because that is the only one I know anything about. The basic and the makeup of the tribe is belief and traditions are concerned are religious in the Indian sense and not the Christian religion is because each tribe has their own form of religion. And I don't know anything about them but, everything about the Muscogeen tribes did have religious significance tied into it. From the time they woke up in the morning until they went to bed at night. And planning or going fishing or whatever they did, it all tiedin with the beliefs.

All the basic ideas was done in fours because of the four corners of the world and four seasons and everything they did was done in fours. Then the ceremonial that we did, we gather at the tribal township and several days before the rituals began and lasted for four days and there were different reasons for gathering. And for example in the Spring time, well, they gathered there and went to a ritual that was more or less religious to clean your body and your system, before eating fresh vegetables and it's the "Green Corn."

I grew up going through all this and I didn't dare eat anything fresh without going through this ritual and that was one type of a thing we did. At this ceremony, the "medicine Man" that we called there, he is a medicine maker. And he dealt with spiritual side of your life in that and if you were some kind of a emotional feeling of fear of some sort, well you went to him and he would alleviate that feeling by various methods. One way was that he would sing and talk to you or if you had tobacco he would breathe on this tobacco where you chewed it or whatever. And you did whatever he gave you to do. Then you do that for four days. And then after that four days then you are supposd to be relieved of this whatever it was that was bothering you. At this ceremony, he was the one that gave you these rituals and there was one where they took off of blackberry vine. And they scratched your forearm in four places and on your chin and jaw.

supposed to). Then you would ask why something happened, because it suppose to happen. So you grew up with these thoughts.

Then looking back a year later then on that particular period, it seems that some those old spiritual leaders were the forerunners of what you might say psychologists today. But whatever the purpose was, it's been served. Then you had a doctor that took care of your physical aches and pains. That was form of doctoring that he did where he would cleanse your body out. By drinking tea that he would make out of bitter roots. And he would drink this, then he would regurgitate, and you had to do this four mornings in a row before you ate anything. That was a periodic thing that we did. Then there was other things that we used to do in that line.

I had a grandmother that came up on a movement from Alabama and she was a young girl at that time, I've got some good information from her during the time that she was her and she used to tell me about when the town of Okemah was a trading post and it was just a little old building out in the prairie. And the tribe use to live (that settle around in that area). It seems that the tribe would gather in clans and I don't remember just how that was formed but you belong to a clan. All the tribal members belong to some clan. And in my class, I belong to the Beaver Clan. And the Beaver Clan then was sympathetic toward other like animals like the muskrat or whatever water living animals there is they were related. And so in some cases, then the clan relations was stronger than kin relations was stronger than blood kin. And she used to explain these things to me. That she said, "That people use to gather down the town of Holdenville today. And there was a creek down there that had salt water. And they would gather there and boil this water to get this salt. And anticipation for migration of squirrels and ducks and things that would come through. They would go there and spend several days getting salt and they would come back to their homes and they said the squirrels use to migrate through this town in droves. She said the men and boys would go out and the boys would go out and club them

them away. She said the d and geese were so thick th they would kill them the sa way. She told about the trip here from Alabama and wh was like and all that. But th that's past history.

The thing, that is, I guess interesting, going back to t original statement of a mon ago. About everything bein done in fours. And my uncl use to make or prepare turt for shakers to dance at thes ceremonials. And we use to gather these turtles, he brin them or we bring them and them in the place there and would starve them for four d That was to get them to con out of their shells. Then I w go into the way they did it. t then he would remove the s and we would take the shell and put them on the ant hill And the ants would clean ou the shells. He would finish preparing them for the shake that the women use for the ceremonials.

Looking back on that particular period, in doctorir the physical ailments (well, things it seems is to be used the advantage of the people, because he would use ants c various ailments, and dirt dobber nests for different things. I was fortunate enoug to be around when all that w going on. There is alot of oth things that probably wou be interesting but you would have to go into detail. These ceremonial grounds were referred to as - translated- would be territorial. But in the langauge, it is referred to as (word in Creek language) that means the territory that you belong to. So that was always the question. Another word - "Where is your territory?" So that would be usually brought up when you meet some stranger and he would tell ther Each tribal town was like that, and had a chief that was over the local area. And whenever something important came up, all this local chief would gather and talk with the head chief or main chief. Then they would bring the word back and spread it about among the people that lived in that area. That's the wa they used to have an understanding of what was going with the tribe.

But there was different things that they did for entertainment. One was where they have a pole with a cowhead or fish carved out of a board. Women and men would play by throwing a ball at that

that they had a cup with leather thongs on the end in the form of a net. The men then would use these two sticks where the women would use their hand. And that was a social game. And there was another game where just the men played and there it would turn into more or less, a grudge game but it was - I think they called it La-Cross in other places but that was pretty rough game. And the men played that one.

And then my grandmother told me and showed me about a game that they used to play with bones from pigs feet and you would roll those bones and that was the way of counting of making a score. And so looking back on that, well, there was alot of things they did. Going into detail would take wuite a bit of time. Just briefly that is just a general outline; one aspect of that belief of the tribe.

QUESTION : In churches, do women sit on one side and the men have to sit on the other side? ANSWER: That's a Christian church. The ceremonial, the women sit back quietly, the men did all the everything, and women was always in the background. The women didn't get up and talk in the meetings. It was always men and so when the Christians chruches, when some of the Indians went over to the Christian religion and they were segregated. Women on one side and men on the other.

Now when I was growing up, we went to both of them. My mother and father went to a Christian church and the demoninations don't matter, it was a Christian church. And at the same time, well, we went to these Indians ceremonials, so the first ten years of my life was made up in those two religions. It got to be kind of confusing sometimes, but as you grow older, you have to make a decision on your own.

QUESTION: If you went to church, could you go to stompdances, too? ANSWER: Well, you wasn't forbidden to participate, but you didn't if you went to Christian church. And you didn't participate in the ceremonials. And the people that went to the ceremonial just didn't go to the Christian church. So they're was never any ridicule or anything of that nature. Other than that, it was just out of respect of the old ways.

kind of hard to explain what it meant. But, it was just implied. But you go, you go. But either way, alot went to both then, or did both them.

Those who go to stompdances. well, there was four arbors, on on the North, South, East and West. You belong to one of those and you go to the one you belong to. Those people are all part of the same clan of some form. Then during those ceremonies, one day was devoted to some form of a belief. One day they would go out and hunt and fish and whatever they got that day, they would cook it and it would be unseasoned and no salt and they would eat it the next day. And every night they would dance up til midnight and that would end that day. And the fourth night or fourth day there was other ceremonial they went, the women did the ribbon dance and other dances the women did.

There were some dances that had to be done without eating when they were fasting. The fourth day was the fast day. Then that night it was over, then that night they would eat and they would gather back to this. Now these were sacred grounds. Only the medicine man would make it so. And the fire then was sacred. Then when during the dance the fire was kept going all these four days and then on the fourth night they set up all night long and dance all night until the next day. Then usually when they had this ballgame just the men played. The ball then, was, oh, a bout a little bigger than a walnut. Then they use these two sticks to catch and run with a ball. They had two goal post like a football field, they were close together, I think they were four feet apart. I forget how tall. Then they had to through the ball then through there. Then they had a guy referred to as a goalie, he stood ther and he would keep that ball from coming through.

And, I saw, they were no such thing as a time out or injured player or anything. I remember my uncle got hit in the head and the blood was running down the side of his head but it was no time to quit playing. I don't remember just how long the game was or whether was just the score that determined the length of the game because it has been so long ago. I don't know how they do it today. But that's the way it was then. And

players and serve them refreshments. And they would dash in and out of the different plays there and they had this (solkee- Creek word for "corn") and they had this drink called "abuskee," made from parts of corn and mix with water. They would serve these men while they were playing and the thing that they had to watch out for an opposing player drinking out of there bucket. If he did then they would dump that out and get some more. Because that was unheard of, you see. Now that was the idea to more or less jinx the other side. See, if they could do that, then that would be ready cause for them to lose. So there were in and out of there all the time. Oddly enough, you never saw a woman get hit. They were in and out of there pretty regularly and then they always gathered together doing things and it was, they kind a of looked out for one another. I suppose it was because the way they lived it was close together. And it seemed like everyone had a good time but at the same time they were and they lived conscious of that belief. But this, I don't know too much about the Christian side of it, because that was an individual thing. But this other name men wa a tribal belief they handed down. And those medicine makers, I guess, would be the translation that it was their first agency job - that their way of doing was making medicine. The spiritual side of it was handing it down. Somebody before them would pick them out and teach them songs and different forms of teaching for the tribe and that was handed down. And the same way with the physical doctor - it was a gift. Then they used to say that if you wanted to know the answer to something, you had to go and fast and you had to give up and go off by yourself and spend time. I suppose the other Christianity would call it meditation. But they did that long, long time ago, sometimes way out in the woods or off by themselves, fast or meditate. They would come back and they would be satisfied with whatever answer that they got. So that was a personal thing there.

So when they heard these children singing, well then they began to cooperate with these rituals so that's how they got this singing and dancing like that. So over the years, I tried to find out the meaning of those words in a stompdance songs.

Then they use the shells for extra rythym and that made it more enjoyable, I suppose. But you see, I'm 60 years old and I ask people older than me. And they say the same thing. So, I don't know how true that is. But that's what I've been told.

QUESTION: What are the shell makers made of?
ANSWER: I don't remember how many on each cluster. And there is a reason for that but then, there again, they only tell you things that they thought that was important to you. But there is a lot of things that are lost because they did'nt tell us.

. . .there was no elephant in our area at that time, so when they saw an elephant, it was tanslated in Creek "limber nose". . .

Another thing that might be interesting, is that the tribal name for animals that are descriptive, now like there was elephants in our area, at that time, so when they saw an elephant, it was translated in Creek "limber nose" and then the camel was translated in Creek as "back and hump." So there are names of things like that.

CHRISTINE HENNEHA
Fullblood Creek
Age: 59
Castle Community

"First thing you gotta do is catch a turtle". . .

There are two designs; there are three designs really. You got that yellow-striped black one. Old folks used to tell me not to get them kind; they are part snake and part turtle. You might catch one and you might turn into a snake, so you have to know which kind to get.

The black one with the yellow streaks, don't get them kind, but get the poka-dot and plain color that we use. Those with the little flurry skirts, what I call them, are all females. You see some straight down, they're males. I got females on mine; like these female women, they don't like the other female women to outdo them, so, they make that sound better. I got a pair that's female and male mixed and they don't have as good a sound.

I got females on mine, they don't like the other females to outdo them, so they make that sound better. . .

Anyway, you catch one or you get a whole bunch before you start cleaning or you want to clean it now; it depends on how you feel. You get one and cut around the head part and under the neck and cut around the tail, and right in where there is one backbone, if your knife is long enough to get up that far and cut it, cut it and pull toward the head, he will clam up and you can't open them. But, if you pull toward the head, he will clam up on the tail and it will automatically loosen. When its open, we put them in the sun somewhere; and depending on how many days of sunshine you get, it will dry in four or five days.

Mostly, big black ants get in there and other little ants get in there and clean that out. But old folks a long time ago used to put them on a red ant bed and they would clean out the parts that hold the top and bottom shells together and they would fall apart. The black ants don't do that. After we think its cleaned pretty good, we drill holes. You got four squares and there is supposed to be one in each one and two on the top. And, of course, for your mount, you gotta drill two there and on the bottom.

After you get your certain kind of pebbles down certain creeks where you can get them, you put them in there. We use the pearl looking ones like the buttons on cowboy shirts. We put them in there and slam it shut and put a wire on there. The tail is already slammed shut and we just string it up.

After you use them, you know which is the right and which is the wrong side; there is left and right just like shoes. You make them and then you use them. one side is always louder. The louder side goes on what you call "next to the fire", on the left side. You weight it and measure it and one will be louder than the other, and the loudest one goes next to the fire because you are going around that way.

Your milk cans are the same way. If you want cultural way, you should use only the turtle. They started using the milk cans because they didn't know how to put the turtles together. That's the reason they cost so much, because today I didn't see one turtle. You don't know how long its going to take you to find the turtles, then you clean it and you have to get you boot top. You have to go to Tandy's to find your leather.

On the cans they don't use wire or string or anything. you use straps to tie it with pretty tight so they don't slide down on your ankle. When you learn how to use them, and we don't have a certain age, if you're a little girl you just automatically learn. You get the rhythm like any other music, you get the rhythm of when to start your dancing. When you're a leader, you start you're singing.

I don't carry no more than eight. I've got about three-fourths full of pebbles in each one and they are heavy. I started making them by my just wanting a pair of my own. I look at everybody's and try to get it in my mind how to do it, where to put the holes and strings for each leg. People just pick it up themselves if they want to.

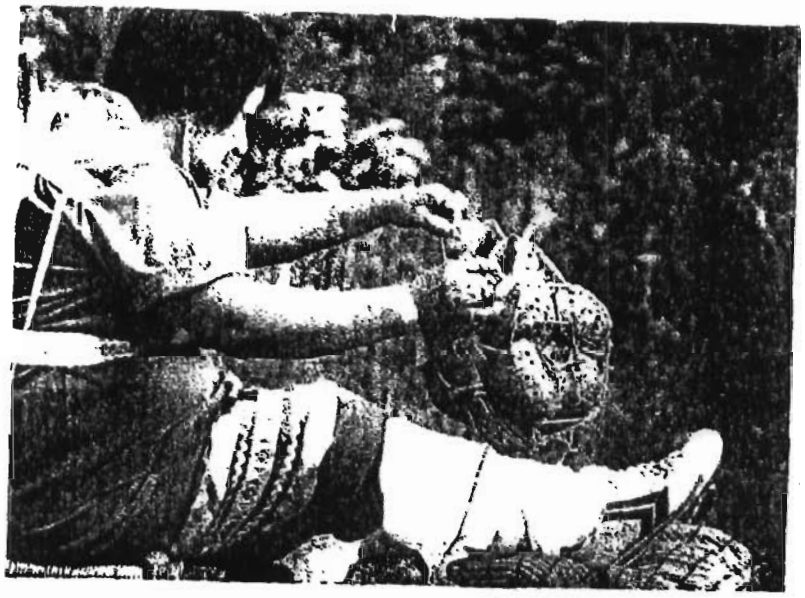
After supper, they get ready to dance all night and then they have to serve breakfast. . .

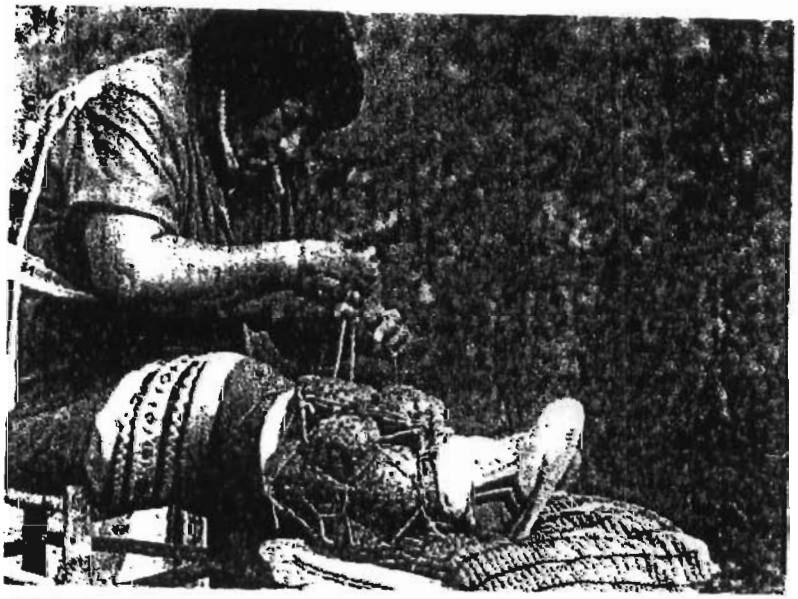
At the grounds, we start camping in on Wednesday. We have to fix them arbors and get some green wood. We're out there under the arbors all day and the womans are out there cooking all day because they have to serve supper.

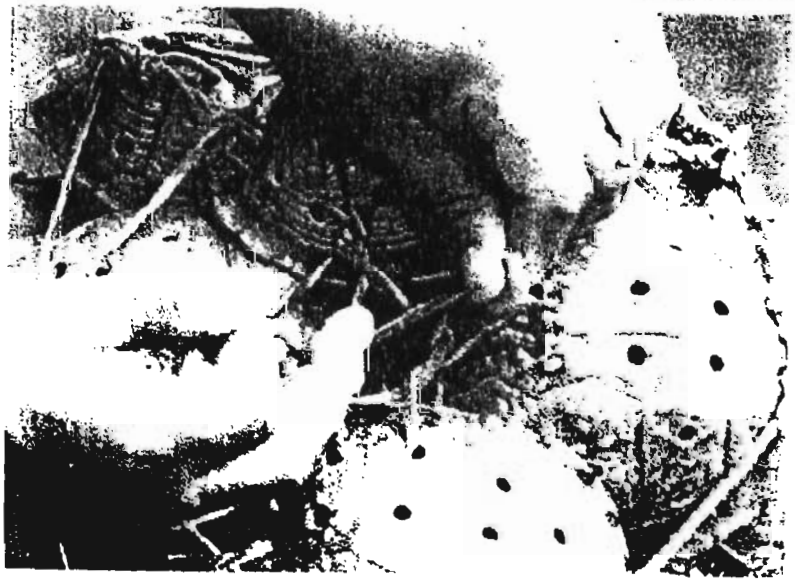
After supper, they get ready to dance all night and then they have to serve breakfast.

We're moving in on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday to get their wood and water and clean up around the camp.

The men folks are busy cleaning up where they dance and the woman is out where the camps are cleaning up, cutting grass. By Friday, you should







have everything ready, like your water, your wood. So, on Saturday you're all ready. Some of them are out getting their groceries. They have what they call practice dance on Wednesday night and Thursday night.

If a little girl that wants to learn, she takes the shells and you practice. . .

If there is a little girl that wants to learn, she take the shells and you practice. Friday night they dance til eleven, eleven-thirty, then Saturday night all night.

You can't mix church and stompdance people together. I don't know, but somewhere along the line they got two different ways. You go to stompdance and then you go to church they say here come them people that go to stompdances, and you go to stompdances and they say, here come them people that go to church.

I don't know how come they started dividing. We used to go to stompdance on Saturday and on Sunday go to church, but somewhere along the line, they just started dividing. If you go to stompdance, your sinning, so people don't know the boundary line, I guess.

If you go to both, like in October at the end of the season, people go to church. Then they start going to stompdance in the Spring and they say grass must be getting green, they drifted away from church.

Then in the Fall, grass must be getting dry, they're coming back to church. My way, I don't see it that way. I can go to stompdance today and church tommorrow, it don't bother me. I don't know where they got the idea on not going to both.

All the Indians used to go to stompdance and then go to church. Somewhere along the line, they got divided, but it don't bother me.

In July we have Greencorn. On Friday we have the ribbon dance, some in the mornings and some in the afternoon and some late in the evening. We fast and take medicine. There are supposed to be four dances. First one in May, second in

June, and the third one in July, that would be the one we call Greencorn. The fourth one is in August, but some have their fourth on in September.

Every Sunday they have stickball with the man and woman playing together. This time, we had a death of one of our members, so we weren't allowed to do anything on our first dance in May.

We have to wait thirty days to go on the grounds, so we will just dismiss our first dance.

We have other beliefs like that, like when a woman is in her monthly period, she can't take part in the dance. The church people believe, too, that if a woman is in her period, she can't take communion. They say that represents the body and the blood, so if she is on her period, they won't let her take communion.

Stompdance is the same way. When they sweep around so far behind that arbor, they have a little slope around there and she can't go past that. She has to stay behind it if she is on her period, she can't dance, she can't take that medicine. The womans aren't allowed either way to sit under the arbors anyhow.

The women have their own arbors kind of back from the grounds. If a person has been drinking or if a girl is on her period, you can tell who it is and tell them something is wrong and you can't dance.

And a woman that's pregnant can't dance, but some of them do; they hurt themselves when they do that.

If anyone violates these things, they get sick and have dizziness or blackouts. That's what they mean when they say, "I've seen that fire work". Sometime they get a fever and there's no way to make that fever go down until they go back to a medicineman and he makes medicine through that fire, and then it cools them off.

Some call it heartattack, some call it stroke, but if they have been going to stompdance and taking medicine, that's what it is. Like if someone has been to a funeral and come by and touch a baby, it will make that baby have fever and convulsions. You have to go to a medicineman and let him chase away that dead spirit.

Some believe these Indians ways work. Some just know the non-Indian way, too many of the young. My grandfather taught me and explained to me, he told me and he showed me true facts of Creek way, and this is what I'm trying to pass on to my grandkids. I'm trying to give my grandchildren what he taught me.

Muscogee Creek Nation

Ceremonial Grounds and Churches

CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

ALABAMA
Mekko
Bobby Yargee
Wetumka, OK

ARBEKA
Mekko
Raymond Meeley
Henryetta, OK

DUCK CREEK
Mekko
Simon Harry
Hectorville, OK

FISH POND
Mekko
Thomas Mack, Sr.
Cromwell, OK

GREENLEAF
Mekko
Bill Proctor
Dewar, OK

HICKORY GROUND
Mekko
George Thompson, Jr.
Henryetta, OK

HILLABEE
Mekko
Daniel Harjo
Hanna, OK

IRON POST
Mekko
Gary Bucktrot
Gypsy, OK

KELLYVILLE
Mekko
Jim D. Brown, Jr.
Kellyville, OK

MUDDY WATERS
Mekko
Bill Hill
Hanna, OK

NEW TULSA
Mekko
Jeff Fixico
Spaulding, OK

NUYAKA
Mekko
Phillip Deere, Jr.
Nuyaka, OK

OKFUSKEE
Mekko
Barney Harjochee
IXL, OK

PEACH GROUND
Mekko
Roman Hill
Hanna, OK

TALLAHASSEE (WVKOKAYE)
Mekko
David Proctor
Nuyaka, OK

TALLAHASSEE (CROMWELL)
Mekko
Thomas Yahola
Wetumka, OK

Church Listings

Alabama Indian Baptist
Westside of Weleetka on
Clearview Road

Arbeka Indian Baptist
7101 Loblolly Rd.
Weleetka, Ok 74480

Arbeka United Methodist
205 Farrid Dr.
Earlsboro, OK 74840

Artussee Indian Baptist
HC-63 Box 233-A
Eufaula, OK 74432

Belvin Baptist Church
320 North Mission
Okmulgee, Ok 74447

Bemo Indian Baptist
13315 South 73rd East Ave.
Bixby, Ok 74008

Big Arbor Indian Baptist
P.O. Box 46
Stidham, Ok, 74461

Big Cussetah Indian Meth.
P.O. Box 58
Morris, Ok 74445

Broken Arrow Indian Meth.
20824 East 141st
Broken Arrow, Ok 74014

Buckeye Creek Baptist
P.O. Box 710
Okemah, OK 74859

Butler Creek
Rt. 1 Box 615
Oktaha, Ok 74450

Cedar River Baptist
Rt. 3 Box 59
Holdenville, Ok 74848

Cedar Springs Baptist
P.O. Box 103
Braggs, OK 74432

Chuska United Methodist
Rt. 4 box 624
Bristow, OK 74010

Concharty United Methodist
Rt. 2 Box 3625
Okmulgee, Ok 74447

Creek Chapel Church
P.O. Box 506
Okemah, Ok 74859

Davis Chapel UMC
P.O. Box 282
Coweta, Ok 74429

Deep Fork Hillabee
P.O. Box 929
Cheoctah, OK 74426

Faith Baptist Church
P.O. Box 353
Dustin, Ok 74839

Faith Tabernacle Church
911 North 10th
Sapulpa, Ok 74066

Fife Memorial UMC
901 East Okmulgee St
Muskogee, Ok 74402

Grace Herkve Baptist
201 North Tiger
Wetumka, Ok 74883

Grave Creek Indian Baptist
P.O. Box 822
Okmulgee, OK 74447

Grant United Meth.
5185 N. 26 Rd.
Beggs, OK 74421

Greenleaf Baptist
2 ½ W., 2/3 Mi. S., Hwy 56
Okemah, Ok 74859

Haikey Chapel UMC
P.O. Box 988
Jenks, Ok 74037

Heritage Full Gospel
619 West Poplar
Holdenville, Ok 74848

Hickory Ground #1
Rt. 2 Box 418
Henryetta, Ok 74447

Hickory Ground #2
11520 N. Harrison Rd.
Shawnee, Ok 74804

High Spring Indian Baptist
P.O. Box 642
Okemah, Ok 74859

Hillabee Indian Baptist
9114 E. Latimer E. Pl.
Tulsa, Ok 74115

Holdenville First Indian Bapt.
119 South Pine
Holdenville, Ok 74848

HVCCE-CVPPV Baptist
Rt.1 Box 60
Weleetka, OK 74880

Indian Fellowship Baptist
6130 S. 58th W. Avenue
Oakhurst, Ok 74050

Jubilee Christian
1019 S. Florida Avenue
Okmulgee, OK 74447

Little Coweta Indian Baptist
HC-62 Box 240
Eufaula, Ok 74432

Little Cussetah Baptist
P.O. Box 1432
Sapulpa, OK 74067

Little Cussetah Meth.
Rt. 3 Box 1555
Okmulgee, OK 74447

Little Quarsarty Baptist
P.O. Box 27
Cromwell, Ok 74829

Many Springs Baptist
P.O. Box 895
Holdenville, Ok 74848

Middle Creek #1 Baptist
Rt. 1 Box 58
Lamar, Ok 74850

Middle Creek #2 Mission Bapt
P.O. Box 294
Holdenville, Ok 74848

Montesoma Indian Baptist
P.O. Box 531
Okemah, OK 74859

Morning Star Ministries
Rt. 2 Box 1943
Mounds, Ok 74047

M.S.W. Indian Baptist Assoc.
8428 Diagnal
Calvin, OK 74531

Muttiloke Methodist
1403 S. Popular
Bristow, Ok 74010

New Arbor Baptist
P.O. Box 862
Eufaula, Ok 74432

Newtown United Meth.
P.O. Box 281
Okmulgee, OK 74447

Nuyaka Indian Baptist
14076 N. 131 st. Rd.
Okmulgee, OK 74447

Okfuskee Baptist Church
P.O. Box 583
Eufaula, OK 74432

Okmulgee Indian Baptist
502 W. Creek Dr.
Okmulgee, Ok 74447

Opportunity Heights
3911 S. 55th W. Ave.
Tulsa, OK 74107

Pecan Grove Methodist
100 S. Burgess
Holdenville, OK 74848

Pickett Chapel United Meth.
17610 S. Hickory St.
Sapulpa, Ok 74066

Prairie Springs Indian Baptist
Joe Smith Pastor
P.O. Box 223
Castle, Ok 74833

Ryal Community Indian
Rt. 2 Box 397
Henryetta, Ok 74437

Salt Creek Indian Baptist
3mi. N., of Wetumka
On the Lake Road

Sand Creek Baptist
P.O. Box 27
Wetumka, OK 74883

Salt Creek United Meth.
324 E. St. Louis
Wetumka, OK 74883

Silver Springs Baptist
Tiger Mt. 9mi. E. of Henryetta

Snake Creek Indian Bapt #1
Rt. Box 305 A
Mounds, OK 74047

Springfield Methodist
603 Garrison Dr.
Norman, OK 73069

Solid Rock Baptist
841 E. 141st
Glenpool, Ok 74033

Tallahassee Indian Methodist
11240 Celia Berryhill Rd.
Okmulgee, OK 74447

Tekopochee Methodist
318 S. Creek
Holdenville, OK 74848

Thewarle Baptist
Rt. 1
Dustin, Ok 74839

Thewarley United Methodist
P.O. Box 537
Holdenville, OK 74848

Thlopthlocco Methodist
Rt. 3 Box 209
Okemah, Ok 74859

Tookparftha Baptist
P. O. Box 62
Calvin, Ok 74531

Tulmochussee Baptist
Rt. 1
Lamar, Ok 74850

Tuskogee Indian Baptist
P.O. Box 672
Eufaula, Ok 74432

Wekiwa Baptist
P.O. Box 1568
Sand Springs, Ok 74063

Weogufkee Indian Baptist
HC 63 Box 73
Eufaula, OK 74432

West Eufaula Indian Baptist
HC 63 Box 313
Eufaula, OK 74432

Wetumka Indian Baptist
P.O. Box 272
Wetumka, OK 74883

Wewoka Indian Baptist
903 S. Hitchite
Wewoka, Ok 74884

Wewoka Methodist Church
1mi. E., on Hwy 270, 6mi. N.
on Yeager Road
Holdenville, Ok 74848

Yardeka Indian Baptist
P.O. Box 758
Dewar, OK 74431

Yeager United Indian Meth.
520 Thomas Yahola Circle
Wetumka, OK 74883

Springtown United Methodist
PO Box 441
Coweta, OK 74429

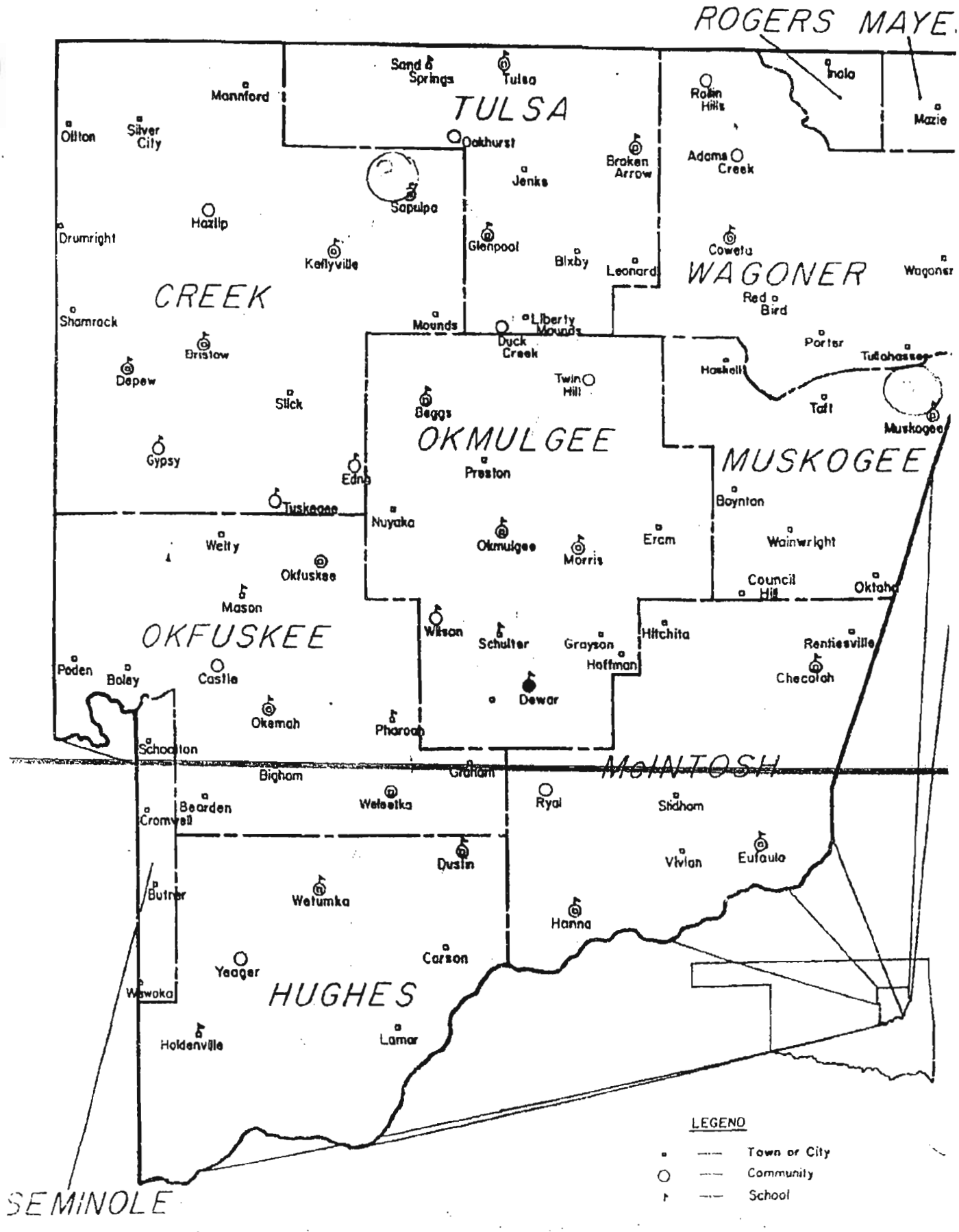
Muscogee Creek Nation

Maps

Stemerketv Nenne (Road of Suffering)

HOMELA[illegible] OF OKLAHOMA INDIANS

CREEK NATION of OKLA.



REMOVAL OF THE FIVE TRIBES

Removal of the Five Civilized Tribes to Oklahoma was a process which lasted more than twenty years, beginning with the Choctaw treaties of 1816, 1820, and 1825 and the Cherokee treaties of 1817 and 1828. The movement ended with the efforts to comb the Seminoles out of the Florida swamps in the 1840's.

Creek removal was marked by war within the tribe and terrible suffering during migration. Chief William McIntosh was executed in 1825 for ceding land without tribal consent. The Treaty of Washington in 1832 provided for the cession of all Creek land east of the Mississippi and settlement of the tribe west of Arkansas. Another treaty in 1833 defined the boundaries of Creek lands.

The Seminole-Creek agreement in 1856 to maintain separate tribal organizations was a parallel movement toward self-government.

The Creek Nation in Oklahoma contained Indians from the Koasati, Hitchiti, Natchez, Apalachicola, Alabama, Tuskegee, and Yuchi (Euchee) tribes. All of these except the Yuchis belong to the Muskhogean language group.

CREEK NATION: POLITICAL DIVISIONS

William McIntosh had begun the compilation of Creek laws before the tribe removed from Georgia. As early as 1840 the two districts in the West attempted united action in a General Council, with Roley McIntosh presiding as chief of the Arkansas District and Opothle Yahola sitting with him as chief of the Canadian District.

On October 12, 1867, a brief written constitution was adopted by a vote of the Creek people. The National Council, composed of the House of Kings and the House of Warriors, was given the power to formulate and pass laws. Each town was entitled to elect one member of the House of Kings, while members of the lower house were apportioned among the towns roughly on the basis of population. The principal chief, with his appointed private secretary, was given the function of law enforcement. The erudite messages of semiliterate chiefs are to be explained only by their skill in the selection of secretaries.

The constitution of 1867 divided the Creek Nation into six districts. The National Council elected a judge for each district, the principal chief appointed six district attorneys with the approval of the Council, and the voters of each district elected a captain and four privates to serve as a light-horse police force. District officers were chosen for a term of two years. The principal chief, a second chief to succeed him in the event of his death in office, and members of the National Council were elected, each to serve for four years in his office.

Trial by jury was provided for civil and criminal cases. All suits at law in which the amount in dispute was more than $100 were tried by the Supreme Court, composed of five justices named by the National Council for terms of four years.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Creek government was its use of the town as the unit of elections and administration. After the Creeks removed to the West, the people no longer restricted their residence to the towns, but the older system of governmental units was preserved.

Principal Chiefs of the Creek Nation, 1867–1907

1867–75	Samuel Chocote
1875–76	Locher Harjo
1876–79	Ward Coachman
1879–83	Samuel Chocote
1883–87	Joseph M. Perryman
1887–95	Legus Perryman
1895	Edward Bullette
1895–99	Isparhecher
1899–1907	Pleasant Porter

CREEK NATION: IMPORTANT PLACES

The McIntosh Creeks—Chilly McIntosh, William's son; Jane Hawkins, the old chief's daughter-in-law; and other adherents of the Cowetan who headed the removal party—occupied land near Three Forks and along the Verdigris River to the north.

At the forks of the Canadian an important mission school was established in 1847—Asbury Mission—and several towns grew up and flourished in the vicinity. North Fork Town was important until the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad was built through the area in 1871. A station was constructed at Eufaula, and the older towns moved to the railroad. North Fork Town and Micco Post Office vanished completely, and Eufaula prospered.

The substantial four-story building of the Eufaula Boarding School, rebuilt on the site of Asbury after the Civil War and again after the school was burned in 1888, was to remain in use until the 1950's, when most of the Creek children were enrolled in the public schools of the area.

Muscogee Creek Nation

The Muscogee (Creek) Nation Seal

MUSCOGEE SEAL

The name Muscogee is an English form of the name Mvskoke which a confederacy of Indians in Georgia and Alabama assumed after 1700. About 1720 British agents designated a group of these Indians as Ochese Creek Indians. This designation, later shortened to Creek Indians, came to be commonly applied to the entire Muscogee tribe. The tribe's name for itself, however, remained Muscogee. The initials "I.T." on the circular border indicate "Indian Territory," the land west of the Mississippi River to which the Muscogee or Creek Indians were removed in the early 1800's. The center signifies the advance of these Indians as agriculturalists, and the influence of Christianity upon many of them. The sheaf of wheat refers to Joseph's dream (Genesis 37:7), "For behold, we binding sheaves in the field, and low, my sheaf arose and also stood upright." The plow depicts a prophecy (Amos 9:13) "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the plowman shall overtake the reaper." The Muscogee National Council adopted this seal. It was used until Oklahoma Statehood. This seal is still the official seal of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation as shown in the current constitution which was adopted August 20, 1979 by the Creek Constitution Commission. On October 6, 1979 it was duly ratified by a vote of 1,896 for and 1,694 against by at least thirty percent of the qualified voters of this great nation.

References: Muriel Wright, "The Great Seal of the Muscogee Nation." THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA: Volume XXXIV (Spring, 1956): original painting by Guy C. Reid

Muscogee Creek Nation

Muscogee Nation Royalty

2004-2006

MUSCOGEE (CREEK) NATION

ROYALTY

Katie Burden, Miss Muscogee Nation
Hometown: Weleetka
Clan: Wind

Cherie Cassaday, Junior Miss Muscogee Nation
Hometown: Sapulpa
Clan: Bear

Mulsey Long, Senior Miss Muscogee
Hometown: Muskogee
Clan: Beaver

Shelby Powell, Little Miss Division III
Hometown: Okmulgee
Clan: Wind

Lilly Freeman, Little Miss Division II
Hometown: Okmulgee
Clan: Alligator

Newakis Hicks, Little Miss Division I
Hometown: Muskogee
Clan: Deer

Muscogee Creek Nation

Branches of Government

Branches of Government for the Muscogee (Creek) Nation

The Muscogee Nation has three branches of government

1. The Executive Branch
2. The Judicial Branch
3. The Legislative Branch

The Executive Branch consists of the:

Principal Chief	Second Chief
Executive Director	Chief of Staff

The Muscogee Nation Chief A.D. Ellis and Second Chief Alfred Berryhill, officially began their term on January 5, 2004.

A Principal Chief and Second Chief are elected every four years by the Muscogee Nations citizens. They were elected October 2003. The Principal Chief is A.D. Ellis and Second Chief is Alfred Berryhill. The Principal Chief then selects his Executive Director, who is then confirmed by the National Council.

The Ex. Director oversees the Office of the Administration which is in place to provide comprehensive management, policy development, administrative support and program coordination to all administrative and program offices operated by the Muscogee (Creek) Nation.

The Muscogee (Creek) Nation operates a $82 plus million dollar budget, has over 375 employees, has tribal facilities and programs in all eight districts of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation and has a service population exceeding 44,000 enrolled tribal members of July 1, 1998.

The Judicial Branch consists of the:

1 (one) District Court Judge 6 (six) Supreme Court Judges

The District Court Judge and Supreme Court Judges are appointed by the Principal Chief and confirmed by the National Council.
The terms of office for the Supreme Court Judges is six years
The term of office for the District Court Judge is four years

The Legislative Branch consists of the:

26 members of the National Council
The current National Council is in their 14the Session
Leadership of the National Council:
Speaker of the House
Second Speaker

The National Council representatives currently serve a 2 (two) year term.
The National Council is elected by the Muscogee citizens in an open election.
The National Council is elected by districts within the boundaries of the Muscogee Nation
The Creek Nation boundary includes eleven (11) Counties: Creek, Hughes (*Tukvpvtce*), Mayes, McIntosh, Muskogee, Okfuskee, Okmulgee, Rogers, Seminole, Tulsa and Wagoner.
Committee assignments are appointed by the Speaker of the House
There are six (6) Committees of the National Council:

1. Business & Governmental Operations
2. Human Development
3. Internal Affairs
4. Tribal Affairs
5. Community Services and Cultural
6. Fact Finding & Investigation

According to the Muscogee Nation constitution all elected officials must be at least ¼ degree of Creek blood.

Executive Branch

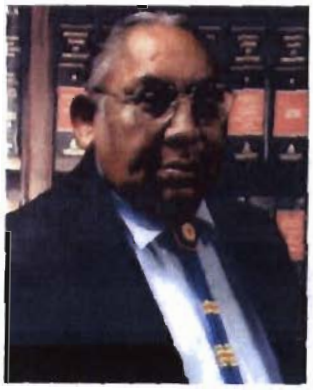
Principal Chief A.D. Ellis

A.D. Ellis was born December 18, 1935 at the Pawnee Indian Hospital, Pawnee, OK. His parents were Doolie Ellis and Nellie Bruner Ellis of Concharty, Twin Hills Community. He graduated from Twin Hills High School in 1953 and then attended Tulsa Business College. He enlisted in the United States Air Force and later served in the Oklahoma National Air Guard.

A.D. was elected to the National Council from the Okmulgee District for four consecutive terms beginning in 1991 through 1995. He served four years as the Second Chief. He retired from International Teamsters Union in 1989 after 35 years of service.

A.D. is married to the former Gail Billings of Morris, OK. He has four daughters and three sons. A.D. and Gail reside at A.D.'s lifelong home on his Mother's original allotment on Bixby Road, Concharty, Twin Hills Community. He is a member of the Turtle Clan and Locupoku Tribal Town and a lifetime member of Concharty Methodist Church.

Second Chief Alfred Berryhill



Alfred grew up on the Tallahassee Indian Methodist Church grounds, north of Okmulgee. His parents, the late Lilly Belle Starr (King) and Toga Mekka Berryhill, raised Alfred on and around the church on Celia Berryhill road. His father was a minister. According to Berryhill, both parents made sure he did his chores at home and at church.

His dad instilled the value of education in him and encouraged him to attend college. He attended Preston school until his freshman year, then went on to Sequoyah High School in Tahlequah. From there he attended Haskel Junior College in Lawrence, Kansas and Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, where he majored in business.

In November of 1998, he was ordained as a deacon. His wish is to revive that old way, the traditional way of worship, as his parents and grandparents did. Alfred believes those very spiritual values instilled in him at a young age helped him enjoy success and change his life.

"I give credit to God, My campaign manager," said Berryhill. "At one point in my life I felt as though I was at a threshold, not sure to go on in or take a step back. But God opens the door nobody can close, he closes a door nobody can open."

CREEK CITIZENSHIP
VOTER REGISTRATION
TAX COMMISSION
COMMUNITIES

Muscogee (Creek) Nation
Office of the
Administration

P.O. Box 580
Okmulgee, Oklahoma 74447

(918) 732-7604

The Office of the Principal Chief is located at the main complex
Hwy 75 and Loop 56
Okmulgee, Oklahoma

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MUSCOGEE (CREEK) NATION

Chief of Staff, Michael Flud

Michael Flud, who is ½ Creek, was born on March 9, 1947 in Okmulgee, Oklahoma. He is a life long resident of Okmulgee County. He attended Twin Hills Grade School and graduated from Preston High School in 1964. He earned a Bachelor of Arts degree and two Masters of Education degrees from Northeastern State University in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. He retired from the education field in August 1998 after thirty one years of teaching as a school counselor, coach and athletic director.

Flud was nominated and confirmed to the first Muscogee (Creek) Nation Supreme Court in 1979. He was a member of the first court having been re-nominated and confirmed in 1998 to his fourth consecutive six year term. He has served five terms as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was also on the Board of Directors of the National American Indian Judges Association. He was appointed as Chief of Staff in June, 2005.

Flud is married to Beth Montgomery, who has taught at Okmulgee High School for 26 years.

Michael Flud belongs to the Nokosvlke clan and his tribal town is Tuskegee.

Claude Sumner, a member of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, currently serves as Executive Director for the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. He was appointed by Chief Ellis and approved by the National Council in February of 2005.

Mr. Sumner was born in the Talihina Indian Hospital and attended Gerty Public School in Hughes County Oklahoma. At the age of 14, he started sophomore year at Haskell Institute in Lawrence Kansas. After graduating from Haskell he attended the University of Kansas where he obtained a Bachelor of Arts in Speech/Drama, and Sociology. He attended graduate school in Utah for Speech (Public Address) and a Communications Minor. Before completing this graduate program he was drafted by Uncle Sam during the Vietnam Conflict. He joined the United States Air Force where he served as the Headquarters Squadron Commander for the 9th Strategic Reconnaissance Wing with the SR-71 Spy plane. He also served a tour with a B-52 unit in Thailand then finished with Recruiting Service in Florida. After his 5 year military service he completed law school at the University of Oklahoma. He practiced law for several years and has served in Administration/Executive positions for different tribes in Texas, Oklahoma and California. He has also kept involved in construction and economic development. He says his Muscogee (Creek) Nation job has been the most enjoyable.

Chiefs during the Civil War:

Sands (Oktarhars Harjo) the Upper Creeks allied with the Union (1861 – 1867)
Samuel Checote the Lower Creeks allied with CSA (1861 – 1867)

Chiefs under the 1987 Creek Constitution:

Samuel Checote	1886 – 1975
Locher Jarjo	1887 – 1876
Ward Coachman	1876 – 1879
Samuel Checote	1879 – 1883
Joseph Perryman	1883 – 1887
Legus C. Perryman	1887 – 1895
Edward Bullette	1895
Isparhechar	1895 – 1899
Pleasant Porter	1899 – 1907
Moty Tiger	1907 – 1917 (Appointed)
George W. Grayson	1917 – 1920 (Appointed)
Washington Grayson	1921 – 1923 (Appointed)
George Hill	1923 – 1928 (Appointed)
Henry Harjo	1930 (Appointed – 1 day)
Peter Ewings	1931 (Appointed – 1 day)
Roley Canard	1943 – 1951 (Appointed)
John Davis	1951 – 1955 (Appointed)
Roley Buck	1955 – 1957 (Appointed)
Turner Bear	1957 – 1961 (Appointed)
W.E. "Dode" McIntosh	1961 – 1971 (Last Appointed Chief)

In 1971 the Muscogee people, for the first time since the partial dismantling of their National government, freely elected a Principal Chief without Presidential approval.

Claude Cox	1971 – 1991 (First Elected)
Bill Fife	1992 – 1995
R. Perry Beaver	1996 – 2003
A.D. Ellis	2004 – present

Judicial Branch

District Judge Patrick E. Moore

Tribal Town - Kvssetv
Clan - Nokosvike

Judge Moore graduated from Okmulgee High School, received a Bachelors Degree from the University of Oklahoma and received a Juris Doctorate from Oklahoma City University. He also participated in post graduate studies at the University of Houston and is a graduate of the National Judicial College at the University of Nevada.

Judge Moore is admitted to practice law before the following courts: Mvskoke Tvlofv, United Stated Supreme Court, United States Court of Appeals Tenth Circuit, United States District Court Western District of Oklahoma, United States District Court Northern District of Oklahoma, and the United States District Court Eastern District of Oklahoma and all Oklahoma State Courts.

Judge Moore is a member of the law firm Moore & Moore in Okmulgee. The senior member is his father, Thomas E. Moore. He is a past president of the Okmulgee County Barr Association and currently serves as a member of the Creek Indian Memorial Association. His great-grandfather, John R. Moore, came to Indian Territory during the removal from Russell County, Alabama and his grandfather, William N. Moore (Roll #1099) was a member of the House of Warriors until his death in 1929.

Judge Moore served in the United States Air Force from September 1963 until September 1967. He served as a prosecutor in the District Attorney s Office, Okmulgee County, for twelve years. He teaches law enforcement officer candidates for the Council on Law Enforcement Education & Training and has lectured at Oklahoma State University and the University of Tulsa.

Judge Moore is a member of the First Presbyterian Church of Okmulgee, Okmulgee and Morris Masonic Lodges, 32nd Scottish Rite and Bedouin Temple, American.

Chief Justice
2005-2006

Justice Larry Oliver

Tribal Town: unknown
Clan: unknown

Justice Larry L. Oliver is a resident of Tulsa, Oklahoma. He attended Tulsa Central High School, and received a Bachelor of Science degree in Police Science from the University of Tulsa. He received a Juris Doctorate from the University of Tulsa in 1964. Confirmed to the Supreme Court in 1999, he has served as chief justice two times and brings his extensive knowledge of the legal system and trial expertise to the Court.

Justice Oliver was employed by the Tulsa Police Department while attending law school. He then served in the Tulsa County District Attorney's Office until he resigned to form his own law firm, Larry L. Oliver & Associates. He has been in private practice for over thirty years with emphasis in tort litigation and is a strong proponent for his clients. He has handled many high profile cases during his career, including both civil and criminal cases.

Justice Oliver is a member of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Cherokee Nation, Oklahoma Indian, American, Oklahoma and Tulsa County Bar Associations, The American Trial Lawyers Association, the National Board of Trial Advocacy, and the Oklahoma Trial Lawyers Association.

Justice Oliver is admitted to practice before the United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, the United States District Courts, Northern and Eastern Districts of Oklahoma and the United States District Courts, Eastern District of Wisconsin.

Justice Oliver has three children: Lisa, Lori and Lance.

Vice Chief Justice
2005-2006

Justice Denette Mouser

Tribal Town: Thewarle

Clan: Bear

Justice Mouser was born in Morris, Oklahoma, in 1954, and is a full citizen of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. Justice Mouser is the daughter of J.C. and Betty Mouser of Dustin, Oklahoma, and the granddaughter of the late Taylor and Dollie Fife and the late Amos and Rosetta Mouser. Ms. Mouser is the mother of two daughters, Alysia Jones of Arkansas, and Brooke Swanson of Oklahoma, and the grandmother of three grandsons, Jordan, Tre, and Jacob-Jaylen.

Justice Mouser grew up in Tulsa, graduating from Daniel Webster High School in 1972. Ms. Mouser worked in Tulsa as a professional photographer for several years, and then for several more years as a secretary in the oil and gas business. Ms. Mouser pursued her college education as a nontraditional student, completing a four year program in only three years, and graduating *summa cum laude* from the University of Central Oklahoma with a Bachelor's Degree in Philosophy in 1996. She then attended the University of Oklahoma College of Law on a full academic scholarship, with an emphasis in trial skills and Federal Indian Law. Ms. Mouser earned her Juris Doctorate, *with honors,* in 1999.

Following graduation from law school, Justice Mouser was first employed by Locke Liddell and Sapp, LLP, and then by Godwin Gruber, P.C. in Dallas, Texas, and focused her practice in general civil litigation, including sub-practice areas in Complex Litigation, Oil and Gas Litigation, Employment Litigation, and Mass Tort Litigation. In 2002, she moved to Rogers, Arkansas to join the legal department of Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., where she currently is Senior Counsel managing the company's large complex litigation involving class actions and individual employment issues.

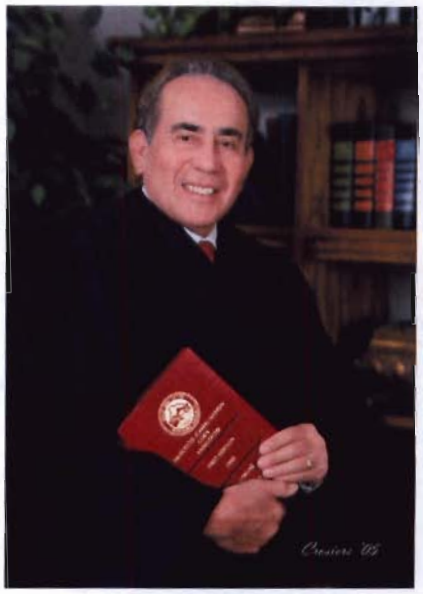
Justice Mouser is licensed to practice law in Oklahoma and Texas, and is admitted to practice in the 5th and 10th Circuit Courts of Appeal, as well as the U.S. District Courts for the Northern, Eastern, and Western Districts of Oklahoma, and the U.S. District Courts for the Northern, Southern, Western, and Eastern Districts of Texas. Justice Mouser is a member of the State Bar of Oklahoma, State Bar of Texas, American Bar Association, Muscogee (Creek) Nation Bar Association, National Native American Bar Association, National Employment Law Council, Corporate Counsel Women of Color, and the Minority Corporate Counsel Association.

Justice Amos McNac

Tribal Town: Nuyanka
Clan: Wotkvlke

Named a 2005 Living Legend

Justice Amos McNac is a resident of Bristow, Oklahoma. He attended Olive Public School, Technical School in Amarillo, Texas and Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas. He was appointed and confirmed to the Muscogee (Creek) Nation Supreme Court on July 25, 1992. Mr. McNac brings to the Supreme Court an understanding of traditional customary law of the Muscogee and Yuchi people which is absolutely necessary for the courts. With Justice McNac on the Supreme Court, the customs and traditions, important parts of native law, cannot only be presented to the courts by the people but also can be explained and discussed properly in the chamber of the Supreme Court. A judge must have knowledge of the complex, elaborate kinship and clan of those who come before them. He served as special counselor for the District Court in hearing of a tribal town dispute, which was conducted in our native language. The Courts of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation are required to apply the tradition and customs of the Muscogee people. He has been active in Indian causes, Indian tradition and Indian justice. The rights of the native people to use the religious symbols and to practice and participate in traditional ceremonies and rituals. He as an active participant in the Harjo v. Kleppe Civil Action 74-189, 420 F. Supp. 110 (D.D.C. 1976) lawsuit and was instrumental in the development of the 1979 Constitution, including an explanation of the Constitution to traditional citizens in Mvskoke throughout the Nation. Justice McNac reads, writes and speaks the Mvskoke language. He has also played a vital role in helping the Muscogee (Creek) Nation develop the new language revitalization program. He was a faculty member and panelist on the Preservation of Native American Languages panel for the Sovereignty Symposium XI. Justice McNac served in the United States Air Force from 1963 to 1967 and is a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. He is a member of the Native American Bar Association, the American Bar Association and the National American Indian Court Judges Association and charter member of the Oklahoma Indian Judges Association.



Justice George Almerigi

Tribal Town: Cussetah
Clan: Alligator

George Almerigi is of the Alligator clan and is a descendent of the Cussetah tribal town. He grew up in Schulter and Okmulgee. Almerigi received B.S. degree in business in 1964 from Long Beach College in California and a Juris Doctor degree in 1983 from Oklahoma City University. Following his admission to the practice of law in October, 1983, Almerigi went to work for the Muscogee Nation in June of 1984 as general counsel (tribal attorney) and served in that capacity until September 1986, then he opened his law office in Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

Almerigi was elected to the National Council and served there from January, 1988 until September 1992. During this period he was recall to active duty in the US Navy and served in the Persian Gulf War. Almerigi resigned his position as Council member in September 1992 and took a position as Assistant Attorney General for the Muscogee Nation where he served until the end of 1995, when he took his elected position as Second Chief of the Muscogee Nation. He served as Second Chief for four years. Almerigi again served as Council member for two years in 2002 and 2003. Almerigi has served as Community chairperson for the Wilson Indian Community and also the Okmulgee Indian Community.

Almerigi brings to the Supreme Court a background of Tribal government and knowledge of the development of the government under the 1979 Constitution.

Justice Houston Shirley

Tribal Town: Rekvckv

Justice Houston Shirley was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma and attended Tulsa Central High School. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Oklahoma University with honors studies in economics.

Justice Shirley served as a First Lieutenant with the United States Army as an Information Officer for both the 1st and 4th Armored Divisions in Europe. He attended Infantry Office School training at the same site of his tribal town in Georgia, Rekvckv, or Broken Arrow Town. Mr. Shirley also attended Armor and Calvary Officer Schools, and Department of Defense Information School.

He graduated from the University of Tulsa, College of Law specializing in oil and gas, business and Indian Law. Mr. Shirley is a past president of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation Bar Association. He has worked as a natural gas contracts and regulatory attorney for La-Vaca Gathering Company, Sector Refining Company and Amax Oil & Gas, Inc. in Houston, Texas. He is admitted to practice to the State Bars of Texas and Oklahoma. He is a member of the U.S. Fifth and Tenth Circuit Courts of Appeal, and U.S. District Courts in the Northern and Southern District of Texas and the Northern, Eastern and Western Districts of Oklahoma.

Justice Shirley is a proud Creek citizen. His great-great grandfather, Horris Berryhill, came to Oklahoma as a boy during Removal from Alabama. He was a teacher in the Creek Nation schools, teaching at Tokpvfkv. Mr. Shirley's grandmother, Gracie Berryhill, was born north of the present Kiefer where she and her family took their allotments.

Mr. Shirley practices law in Bixby, Oklahoma, with the Law Office of Houston Shirley, a Professional Corporation, primarily in areas of real estate, oil and gas, probate and estate planning, business, and Indian Law. He is a member of the Bixby United Methodist Church and Bixby Masonic Lodge, where Chief Pleasant Porter was a charter member. He is married to Sally Shirley of Liberty, Texas. They have two children, Elizabeth and Nathaniel.

Legislative Branch

Speaker George Tiger is a full blood Muscogee Creek and grandson of Chief Motey Tiger. For more than twenty years he has been involved in the communications business. In this area, he has produced, hosted, and developed several prominent Native American electronic media programs. He also serves on the national Board of Haskell Indian University in Lawrence, Kansas. Mr. Tiger is a six term representative to the Muscogee Creek National Council. He is the newly elected Speaker in January 2006. His major goal is to strengthen the line of communications between the Legislative and Executive branch.

Roger Barnett is a full blood Creek from the Wind Clan. He has worked for the Creek Nation for 16 years, eight in education. Mr. Barnett is a 4 term representative to the Muscogee Creek National Council. He is the newly elected second speaker in January of 2006. His goal is to find new forms of economic development for the Creek Nation.

National Council Committees
Session Palen-Sostohkakat (14th)
2006-2007

Business & Governmental

Roger Barnett - Chairman
Anthony Notaro - Vice Chair
Shirlene Ade
Sam Alexander
Pete Beaver
Bill Fife

Meetings: Thursday prior to Planning Session
Legislative Clerk: Jennifer Edwards

Community Services & Cultural

Tom Pickering - Chairman
Lena Wind - Vice Chair
Sylvanna Caldwell
Bo Johnson
Cherrah Quiett
Travis Scott
Paula Willits

Meetings: 2nd Monday at 6:30 p.m.
Legislative Clerk: Rebecca Mitschelen

Tribal Affairs

Ron Cleghorn - Chairman
Larry Bible - Vice Chair
Jeff Fife
Robert Jones
Eddie LaGrone
Thomas McIntosh

Meetings: 2nd Tuesday at 3:30 p.m.
Legislative Clerk: Rebecca Crowels

Human Development

Thomas Yahola - Chairman
Johnnie Greene - Vice Chair
Richard Berryhill
Duke Harjo
James Jennings
Keeper Johnson

Meetings: 2nd Tuesday at 7:00 p.m.
Legislative Clerk: Jayme Spaniard

DATES & TIMES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

National Council Select Committees
Session Palen-Sostohkakat (14th)
2006-2007

Internal Affairs

Thomas Yahola - Chairman
Sylvanna Caldwell (Alt)

Pete Beaver - Vice Chairman
Eddie LaGrone (Alt)

Johnnie Greene
Richard Berryhill (Alt)

Duke Harjo
Roger Barnett (Alt)

Bo Johnson
Jeff Fife (Alt)

Tom Pickering
Anthony Notaro (Alt)

Cherrah Quiett
Sam Alexander (Alt)

Travis Scott
Bill Fife (Alt)

Fact Finding & Investigation

Roger Barnett - Chairman
Duke Harjo (Alt)

Jeff Fife - Vice Chairman
Bo Johnson (Alt)

Shirlene Ade
Sylvanna Caldwell (Alt)

Richard Berryhill
Johnnie Greene (Alt)

Eddie LaGrone
Pete Beaver (Alt)

Anthony Notaro
Thomas McIntosh (Alt)

Paula Willits
Larry Bible (Alt)

Lena Wind
Bill Fife (Alt)

SESSION - PALEN-SOSTOHKAKAT (14th)

2006-2007

Muscogee (Creek) National Council

District Representatives

Creek District

Seat A - George Tiger
Seat B - Duke Harjo
Seat C - Roger Barnett

McIntosh District

Seat A - Tom Pickering
Seat B - Anthony Notaro
Seat C - Thomas McIntosh

Muskogee District

Seat A - Mose Peter Beaver
Seat B - Robert E. LaGrone

Ofuskee District

Seat A - Travis Scott
Seat B - Lena Wind
Seat C - Bill S. Fife

Okmulgee District

Seat A - Robert Jones
Seat B - Keeper Johnson
Seat C - Jeff Fife
Seat D - Bo Johnson
Seat E - James Jennings

Tukvpvtce District

Seat A - Sylvanna Caldwell
Seat B - Thomas Yahola
Seat C - Shirlene Ade

Tulsa District

Seat A - Larry Bible
Seat B - Cherrah Ridge-Quiett
Seat C - Ron Allen Cleghorn
Seat D - Samuel Alexander
Seat E - Paula Willits

Wagoner/Roger/Mayes District

Seat A - Richard Berryhill
Seat B - Johnnie Greene

Muscogee Creek Nation

Living Legends

This Creek Citizen was born February 27, 1943. He married Royce, together they are currently residents of Bristow, OK. He attended Olive Public School, Technical School in Amarillo, TX and Washburn University in Topeka, KS

He was appointed and confirmed to the Muscogee (Creek) Nation Supreme Court on July 25, 1992. He is now in this 13th year as a Supreme Court Justice, during which he served twice as Chief Justice and served on the Lighthorse Commission. He brought to the Supreme Court an understanding of traditional customary law of the Muscogee and Yuchi people which is absolutely necessary for the courts. He also served as special counselor for the District Court in hearing of a tribal town dispute, which was conducted in our native language. He was an active participant in the Harjo v. Kleppe Civil Action. He was a faculty member and panelist on the Preservation of Native American Languages panel for the Sovereignty Symposium XI. He served in the United States Air Force from 1963-1967 and is a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. He is a member of the National American Indian Court Judges Association and charter member of the Oklahoma Indian Judges Association.

He was instrumental in the development of the 1979 Constitution, including explanation to traditional citizens in the Mvskoke language throughout the Nation. He reads, writes, and speaks the Mvskoke language. He is currently very active in the Muscogee (Creek) Nation Tribal College at OSU-Okmulgee.

This man is Justice Amos McNac.

This Creek Citizen was born March 16, 1921 in Holdenville, OK to Martha Berryhill and Thomas Long. He was raised in the Salt Creek Church area of Hughes County, Oklahoma. He is of the Wotko (raccoon) Clan and of the Tukabatchie Tribal Town. He grew up in both traditional and Christian cultures of the Muscogee tribe. He later married Mulsey Tarpalechee in 1947 and they raised four boys and two girls

He received a baseball scholarship to attend Southeastern State University in Durant, OK. He enlisted in the United States Marine Corp in August 1942 serving in the Pacific Theater of World War II. In 1949, he became a licensed minister. He has been a much requested and admired speaker and panelist at various events across the nation. Muscogee (Creek) Nation has called upon Rev. Long many times for several different ceremonies.

Fluent in his first language, Muscogee Creek, singing of Creek Hymns is an inspiration to people of all languages. Well known from all walks of life, in all parts of the country, there are many stories to tell, smiles and memories of lives that have been touched and influenced by this man. Among some of these recognitions he was inducted by Kiowa brothers of Carnegie into the Native American Marine Corps Veteran's Association. He was introduced, at the Gathering of Leadership of Oklahoma Candidates, as a National Treasure. This May, the President of Bacon College honored this man with an Honorary Degree presenting him a Doctorate of Humane Letters.

Reverend Long also serves as Chaplain of the Muscogee Indian Community in Muskogee, OK.

This man is Reverend Harry Long.

This Creek Citizen was born March 10, 1911 in Henryetta, OK to Louisiana Sloan Randall and Timmie Randall. She was raised in the Wilson Community area of Okmulgee County, Oklahoma. She is of the Wind Clan and of the Kialegee Tribal Town. She married Clemon Gilroy in 1935, they raised three daughters and two sons.

She attended school at Eufaula Boarding School, Eufaula, OK; Dwight Mission, Marble City, OK thru 8th grade. In the late 70's she received her high school equivalency, GED.

She came to work for Muscogee (Creek) Nation in 1975 until around 1992 when she retired at the age of 75. During her employment with Creek Nation she devoted many years in teaching basket and rug weaving, pottery making, and bead artistry throughout the Creek Communities and even at the Tulsa Junior College. She participated many years in the Creek Nation Festival and she was an active member of the Creek Nation Rodeo Club. In 1985, she was honored as the "Person of the Year", during the Annual Pecan Festival and Creek Nation Festival Parade in Okmulgee, OK. She was featured in a book published by Shirlee P. Newman, "THE CREEK". She is also the Head Woman's Leader at Randall Indian Baptist Church, formerly known as Randall Mission, which is located on the Randall allotment.

This woman is Hepsey Randall Gilroy.

This Creek Citizen was raised on the family allotment in the Morris area. His parents were the late John and Della Fox Beaver. He is of the Deer Clan and of the Weogufkee Tribal Town. He later married Mariam Bruner Beaver. The raised 4 children.

He attended and graduated from Morris Public Schools, in 1957. He also received a Master's in Education from Northeastern State University and Bachelor's of Science in Mathematics from Central State University. He later attended and continued his athletic career at Northeast Louisana State then to the Green Bay Packers under legendary coach Vince Lombardi during the 1960's, he also had a free agent contract with Greenbay Packers. He was inducted into the Northeast Louisana Hall of Fame, in May 1998, and is a nominee to the Indian Hall of Fame. He was head football coach at the Jenks High School for 25 years and the Indian Education Director for the Jenks Public School System. He retired as educator in 1991, a recipient of the Oklahoma Coaches Association's Region Football Coach of the Year and the Tulsa World's Football Coach of the Year award. He is member of the Oklahoma High School Coaches Hall of Fame, American Indian Athletics, and Murray State College.

Among all other accomplishments he served as a Tulsa District Representative to the Muscogee (Creek) Nation National Council for two terms. He also served two terms as the Second Chief of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. Later to serve two terms as Principal Chief of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation.

This man is R. Perry Beaver.